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THE
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NEW SERIES. No. XIX.—JULY, 1867.

ART. I.—THE VISION THEORY OF THE RESURREC-
TION OF JESUS CHRIST.*

By REV. WOLCOTT CALKINS, Buffalo, N. Y.

It is a fact full of significance, that the earnest thinking of our times is concentrating upon the life of our Lord. "What think ye of Christ?" is beginning to be the test question, not merely in dogmatic theology, as in former periods, but in

* 1. Das Leben Jesu, für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet. Von David F. Strauss. Leipzig, 1864.

2. The Character of Jesus Portrayed. By Dr. Daniel Schenkel. Translated by W. H. Furness, D. D., Boston, 1866.

3. The Life of Jesus. By Carl Hase. Translated by James Freeman Clarke. Boston, 1860.

4. The Gospel of the Resurrection. By Brooke Foss Westcott, B. D. London and Cambridge, 1866.

5. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. Halle, 1861, iii, s. 223, ff. C. Holsten: Die Christus-Vision des Paulus, und die Genesis des paulinischen Evangeliums.

6. Ditto, 1863, viii, s. 182, ff; xiii, s. 297, ff. Ludwig Paul: Ueber die geschichtliche Beglaubigung einer realen Auferstehung Christi.

7. Ditto, 1863, xvii. Strauss: Schleiermacher und die Auferstehung Jesu.

8. Die Auferstehung Christi. Von Dr. Willebald Beyschlag. Berlin, 1865.

9. Allgemeine kirchliche Zeitschrift. Dr. Daniel Schenkel. Elberfeld, 1865, 290, ff. 579, ff. Die Auferstehung Jesu als Geschichtsthatfache und als Heilsthatsache.

10. Bulletin Théologique, Paris; April, 1866. Conference prononcé a Berne. Par M. le pasteur et professeur Güder: De la Réalité de la Résurrection de Jésus Christ.

philosophy, in natural science, and, above all, in history. Even the undevout are forced to write their dates in numbers which set all the centuries in eager motion toward the vital moment in time, and bring them back again, regenerate and consecrated, like the flow of the blood to and from the heart. Only, this heart-point of history is no longer felt to be the birth of the Son of Mary, but the Resurrection of the Son of Man. The former fact occasions no disturbance to any system of philosophy. But is the latter a fact, too? There the whole fabric of modern speculation begins to reel. One of the organs of rationalism recently avowed, with perfect frankness, "from the day that it becomes possible to admit the historical reality of the resurrection of Christ, that miracle of miracles, it will become necessary to abandon our whole system since this one fact is such a serious interruption to the established order of nature, that it would reverse all the modern theories of the universe."* Skepticism on one side, and Christian apologists, with the Apostle at their head, on the other, are equally explicit in admitting the vital importance of this question.

"Here we come to the decisive point, where we are bound to find some explanation of the origin of this belief in the resurrection of Jesus, or else admit it to be a fact, acknowledge the insufficiency of our theories, take back everything we have said thus far, and abandon our whole attempt."† Is this explanation found? Is the story an unfounded tradition? Is Christ not risen? Then our faith is vain, and the Apostles are found false witnesses of God.

It is now universally admitted that the basis of all historical investigation of this question, is the fact that the Apostles and early disciples believed in the actual resurrection of Jesus. The theory of the Pharisees,‡ circulated by men employed for that purpose,§ and revived by the old school of atheists in

* *Zeitstimmen*, 1861, p. 349; cf. *Bulletin Théologique*, 1866, p. 81

† *Strauss*, 288.

‡ *Matt.* xxviii. 15.

§ *Just. Mar. Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 335.

France and England, and in the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, that the Christians stole the body, and imposed upon the world by a pious fraud, is scouted, by modern skepticism, as a thing more incredible than the miracle itself. "That the christian church could have existed without a belief in the resurrection of Jesus, is impossible."* The only question which engages the attention of any modern historian, is this:

How is the fact to be accounted for, that the Apostles, and many others, believed that they saw Jesus alive, after he was crucified, dead, and buried?

The process by which rationalists have reached their solution of this question, is very instructive. In the beginning of the present century, it was avoided, or held to be of no importance. Hegel taught, that faith in Christ, and even the belief that his death was not a necessity, but the death of death, does not depend upon his personal resurrection; only upon the resurrection of his life within the church. The belief in a resurrection would be quite inadequate. Against such a miracle, some objection could always be urged, since the object believed would be separate from the soul's own consciousness. To depend upon any outward object for our faith, would be to transform faith into human and irreligious sense. What the soul receives for truth, must not be natural, but spiritual, worthy of its own spiritual nature. The human history of Christ is all negative. Faith has absolutely nothing to do with this, but transforms it into another history completely. He is believed, felt, to be very God. His history on earth is nothing but the process of the Divine nature coming into union with humanity. Hence, the outward facts of his life do not enter into the elements of Christian faith, which is a spiritual apprehension, an assurance of the soul, an instinctive feeling that this holy oneness of God and man is a relief from the burden of sin, and the painful need of truth and reconciliation. It is, therefore, absolutely indifferent from what source the history of Christ is derived. It is not worth a moment's re-

* Baur, *Das Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, s. 39.

search to ascertain whether Jesus was raised from the dead, what he said and did, nor whether such a man ever lived, or not. If the whole story from beginning to end is an unfounded tradition, it is, nevertheless, true that the profound speculations of the human race upon the isolation of the soul from itself, from other beings, and from God, have found repose at last in this belief, that God is not at a distance, nor in hostility to us, but has come into the world to reconcile us unto himself, and to prove that it is possible for the divine nature to become human, and the human nature to become divine. This belief will remain steadfast, whether it has a basis of fact to stand upon, or not.* Hegel's interest in this question was purely speculative. Schleiermacher's was deeply religious. And yet he reaches substantially the same conclusion. He often speaks of the resurrection, indeed, as an actual occurrence; for example, in his fascinating sermon on "Christ's Resurrection a Pattern of our New Life."† Yet upon close inspection it will be observed, that "the pattern" is of secondary importance; if the "new life" is a reality, the purpose of the resurrection is fulfilled. For an actual resurrection has nothing whatever to do with his continuous existence, which consists in the quickened spirit of his church. The facts of Christ's personal history all retire to the background, and become almost as insignificant as in Hegel's system of philosophy. The whole of his personal worth, as well as the force of his truth, is found in the planting of a new and holy principle of life in the hearts of men. This principle works not merely in individuals, but is cherished and becomes continuous in the life of the church. In short, "the fact of the resurrection cannot be included among the essential elements of the doctrine of Christ's person."‡ Thus far, we find only this answer to the question: How can we account for the belief in the resurrection? We do not know; we do not need to know; we do not care to know; the belief has a basis of truth, and requires no basis of fact.

* Cf. Dörner, *Lehre von der Person Christi*. 1839, p. 402, ff.

† Fish's *Masterpieces of Pulpit Eloquence*, I, 525.

‡ *Glaubenslehre*, § 99.

But Schleiermacher could not leave the question in this obscurity. He had no dogmatic interest in it, but another interest pressed for a solution. He cannot, indeed, comprehend Paul's assertion, "If Christ be not risen, your faith is vain," but the additional inference, "we are found false witnesses of God," disquiets him. "Whoever hesitates, on account of the miracle involved, to accept the resurrection as a literal fact, and supposes rather that the disciples deceived themselves, and mistook an inward feeling of their own for an occurrence in the outward world, attributes to them such weakness that not only their whole testimony for Christ ceases to be reliable, but Christ himself, in choosing such disciples, could not have known what is in men. Or, worse still, if it was his intention to have them mistake their own hallucinations for actual observations, then he himself is the originator of error, and all moral ideas become hopelessly confused, when such an action is found consistent with a sinless character. From a Christological standpoint, this is the *nervus rerum* of the question; to suspect the disciples of deception or hallucination, bewilders our moral judgments. And, since either of the two must, in the last analysis, be referred to Christ, we must charge him with the character of a visionary, or else of a deceiver, unless we admit the resurrection to be an actual fact. And, back of this, the question will still remain: Can a visionary or a deceiver, the master of visionary or fanatical disciples, give to the world an entirely new and still enduring direction? Can such a being be the central point in the world's history?"* Weighty words! And by no means canceled by the author's own apparent forgetfulness of them.† And yet it must be admitted that, in the oft-quoted passage, no weight whatever is laid upon the fact of the resurrection in itself. If it had never been mentioned, Schleiermacher would not have felt the loss.

* Glaubenslehre, § 99.

† Strauss endeavors to break the force of this argument, by quotations from the lectures of Schleiermacher on the life of Jesus, since published. (See authorities at the head of this article, No. 7.) But the argument still remains, whether he was consistent with himself, or not.

It acquires a fictitious value from the mere circumstance that it is recorded. To save the character of Jesus and the Apostles, some explanation must be found of this curious and undoubtedly sincere conviction. This explanation Schleiermacher finds in the once famous *Resuscitation Hypothesis*. Few of those who have been shocked at the tedious elaboration of this weak and self-contradictory theory, in Paulus, and the whole naturalistic school of Hegel's disciples, would suspect that its origin was to be traced to this "learned man of God." His children have long kept their father's nakedness reverently covered. But the "Leben Jesu," recently published from the MSS. of his less scrupulous pupils, develops the theory at length, that Jesus' apparent death on the cross was only a swoon, and he was buried in a state of suspended animation; in the grave he recovered, in consequence of the cool air and the spices; the stone was rolled away by laborers, early in the morning; whose garments he chances to find; he appears seldom, because he is still suffering; and in a few days, or a few months, or a few years, he actually dies, but not until his mysterious appearances have excited such hopes in his followers, that they fully believe him to be raised to glory.*

The Christian apologist is saved the labor of exposing the fallacy of this hypothesis. It has been done, in a masterly manner, by the skeptical writers, a few of whom are cited in this article. They ridicule its absurdities, and show that it explains nothing, after all; the apostles are still deceived, and Christ is still the author of their error; the Christian church rests upon a delusion. This is the undesigned service, in the cause of truth, which has been rendered by its most formidable adversaries. They have cleared the ground for the conflict, which, we have good reason to believe, will be final and decisive.

* This theory has been recently revived in an English work, which we have not been able to obtain. Of course, no other conjecture is possible to those who deny miracles, and, at the same time, hold the gospels to be historical. very few will venture to maintain both these doctrines in this age of the world. Such temerity may be dismissed with a "Macte Virtute!"

The answer to the Great Question, upon which all rationalists have substantially agreed, is the *Vision Theory of the Resurrection of Jesus*.

The Apostles, and other supposed witnesses of the resurrection, were deceived; they either mistook their own fancies for outward realities, or else they falsely inferred, from certain appearances of a mysterious nature, that the crucified body was alive again.

The one point in which all rationalists agree with one another, and depart from the scriptures, is, that the dead body of Jesus was not raised to life from the grave. Some of them admit a resurrection which was actual and even miraculous. Schenkel's *Characterbild* was not explicit enough on this point to silence criticism. "Jesus Christ has truly risen, for he lives in his church, not in flesh and blood, not perceptible to the senses nor to the earth-blinded eye, but clearly seen by the children of the spirit, always present to the eye of faith, proving himself to be the Saviour of mankind. In death he conquered death, and became the creator for time and eternity of imperishable life. As the Risen One he is exalted above earthly powers and the limitations of sense. His appearances were so many glorified illustrations of his Idea in the breasts of those who believed in him, and in whom, till then, this Idea had been overcast and dim."* We confess that this explanation is itself excessively "overcast and dim." It may have the same meaning as the unequivocal language of Hegel and Schleiermacher, or it may recognize facts and miracles in these appearances. That the latter was the author's intention, appears from his more recent articles in the *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. Here he insists that two descriptions of the risen Jesus are to be found in the Gospels, which are absolutely contradictory; one, that the same body which had suffered death and been laid in the grave, was alive again; the other, that Christ's spiritual person continued to exist, and could manifest itself to the souls of believers. He assumes

* Transl. ii, 317, etc.

that a choice must be made between these two representations. He rejects the former, and all passages of scripture that assert it, as *later additions to the original tradition*, and accepts the latter as the teaching of Paul, and of the original Gospel of Mark. Thus he admits a real resurrection, and appearances of the risen Saviour which were real and objective; but they were mysterious revelations of his spiritual personality which survived the death of his body, and is living and everlasting.

This is, after all, nothing but the theory of *Spiritual Resurrection*, which is held by many in the church, in reference to the doctrine of the general resurrection, and was distinctly announced by Spinoza, in explanation of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.*

The advocates of the theory of the Spiritual Resurrection protest against being classed with those who hold to the Vision Hypothesis. After they have thrown out of history "later traditions" enough to suit their purpose, there remains no deception on the part of the disciples. But we shall show that they agree with the extreme rationalists in the essential features of the theory; for the very thing which they reject, the resurrection of the body from the grave, is the fact which the Apostles proclaim. If the resurrection was only spiritual, these "mysterious appearances" were visions, and delusive visions.

But the hypothesis receives the name of the "Vision Theory" from those advocates only who regard the vision as exclusively subjective. This theory was proposed as early as 1729, in London, by Thomas Woolston. It has been elaborated,

* Apostolos omnes omnino credidisse quod Jesus a morte resurrexerit, et ad celum revera ascenderit, ego non nego. Nam ipse etiam Abrahamus credidit, quod Deus apud ipsum pransus fuerit, cum tamen pæce et plura alia hujus modi apparitiones seu revelationes fuerint, opinionibus eorum hominum accommodatæ, quibus Deus mentem suam iisdem revelare voluit. Concludo itaque Christi a mortuis resurrectionem revera spiritualem, et solis fidelibus ad eorum captum revelatam fuisse nempe quod Christus æternitate donatus fuit, et a mortuis (mortuos hic intelligo eo sensu, quo Christus dixit: Sinite mortuos sepelire mortuos suos) surrexit, simul atque vita et morte singularis sanctitatis exemplum dedit, et eatenus discipulos suos a mortuis suscitavit quatenus ipsi hoc vitæ ejus et mortis exemplum sequantur. Spinoza, Ep. xxiii ad Oldenburg. P. 558 f. See *Bul. Theol.* 1866, 95.

with great precision, in the new work of Strauss. The visions of Paul, with whom every advocate of the theory begins, have been criticised, with even greater acuteness, by Holsten.

Paul was a visionary man. He acknowledges that he is sometimes thrown into a state of ecstasy, in which he can not tell whether he is in the body or out of the body.* His "thorns in the flesh," his "buffetings of the messenger of Satan," and his "speaking with tongues," in a manner not intelligible to himself and others, and his frequent allusions to the feebleness of his constitution,† can be referred to nothing but nervous excitement, and, possibly, to *convulsive and epileptic fits*! If, with these facts, we combine the frank admission "it pleased God to reveal his Son *in me*,‡ we shall be prepared to interpret correctly the appearances to him of the risen Saviour. Unquestionably he fully believed that the glorified Saviour was actually present to his senses. But we, knowing the man better than he knew himself, find nothing, in all this, but the delusion of a highly wrought imagination. His conversion occurred at a time of intense excitement. The progress of the new sect was beginning to threaten the strict observance of laws and ceremonies, and the very existence of the anointed nation. How deeply must this have moved his fiery spirit! How the danger would haunt him night and day!

That an ecstasy, and a dream of visions from the other world, would speedily follow this sleepless excitement, is a matter of course; why was it not, however, a vision of Moses and Elias, rather than of the hated Jesus? Because his conscience was never at rest. His conversion, itself, is a proof of this. His restless zeal in "haling men and women" to prison, was the struggle of a desperate man to silence his own scruples.§ The only defense they ever offered for their conduct was, "God hath raised Jesus from the dead, and made him both Lord and Christ." If Paul had been a Sadducee, this would have made no impression upon him.

* 2 Cor. xii, 1, seq.

† 2 Cor. x, 10; Gal. iv, 12.

‡ Gal. i, 16.

§ ἡ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχειν. Rom. i, 18.

But he was a Pharisee. He believed in the resurrection of the dead, as firmly as the Christians. He knew that a few holy men might be raised before the last day. He would make frantic efforts to believe this was impossible in the case of Jesus, because he was a bad man and a deceiver. Still, this would become, day by day, more doubtful. When he contrasted his own cruel zeal and desperate struggles, with the calmness, meekness, and unfaltering faith of his victims, he could not help asking, could an imposter have such followers? Could a lying pretence yield such fruits? When he saw the new sect gathering strength on every side, in spite of persecution, or in consequence of persecution, confirmed in that peace of conscience which he was every day losing, what wonder that the appalling question would press upon him in hours of depression and utter wretchedness: Who is in the right after all, thou, or this crucified Galilean, of whom these men are raving? How perfectly natural the transition, now, to an ecstasy in which the risen Saviour would seem to stand before him in all the glory he had often heard described, and repeat to him the very words which his own misgivings had often pronounced, summoning him to give up the useless conflict, and espouse a better cause!*

We have, thus, a rational explanation of Paul's belief in the resurrection. But the appearances to the other supposed witnesses were precisely like his own.† A similar explanation will account for their hallucination. Very gradually, at a distance from the scene of the crucifixion, the depression of this disaster would be dispelled, and they would begin to search the Scriptures more carefully. Surprising promises of redemption, by means of suffering and death, would be found.‡ Then, the assurance that God would not suffer his holy one to see corruption in the grave,§ would begin to stir strange expectations. This reaction from despair would throw them into an excitement quite as conducive to the ecstatic state, as

* Strauss, 303, 304.

† Isaiah liii, 10-12.

‡ 1 Cor. xv.

§ Psalm xvi, 9.

the despondency of Paul. They were now all ready for the vision.*

The report that he appeared first to Mary, out of whom he had cast seven devils, is very suggestive. A poor, shattered woman was the first to fall into this delusion. Peter, whom Paul names as the first, was also subject to excited fancies of this kind.† However the vision first occurred, the report of it would fly like wild-fire. It would be the easiest thing in the world to think they saw what they so much desired and expected to see. Thus, by degrees, the belief would become universal among his former disciples, that the crucified Jesus was alive again, and had appeared to them in his own person.‡

The only records of this remarkable delusion, which have any historical value, are the writings of Paul. And he does not take us beyond the single assertion that "he rose from the dead, and appeared unto Peter, James, and others." The time, and place, and circumstances were not then regarded as important enough to be mentioned, perhaps they were too vague to be recorded. But a few generations later, the tradition was developed and ornamented with all that fondness for detail which belongs to mythical narrative. This is the origin of the account of the resurrection and ascension in the Gospels and in the Acts.§

This has often been called the theory of the negative school. But we have here a mass of assertions quite as positive as that Jesus rose from the dead, and that John wrote the fourth Gospel. Peter, James, Paul, and above five hundred others, were in an excited state of mind, and mistook a visionary fancy for an outward fact. This occurred a long time after the death of Christ, and after long preparations of mind and conscience. And all this is not a conjecture, but a discovery by historical research!

Where now are these facts to be found? The one decisive text, by which the Christophanies of Paul, and of all the Apostles, are interpreted, is Gal. i, 16. "It pleased God to

* 304, seq.

† Acts x.

‡ 307, seq.

§ 601, seq.

reveal his Son *in me*." This is assumed to be the whole description of his conversion. It is, therefore, only a revelation of the Lord to his own soul; i. e., a purely subjective vision.

That the force of this argument has been felt, is evident from the capricious constructions put upon the phrase "in me." Calvin, Rosenmüller, and even Bengel, make it equivalent to the simple dative, a meaning which Winer has shown it never bears.* Jerome, Erasmus, Grotius, Baumgarten-Crusius, and many modern commentators make it equivalent to *per me*; "through me, as an organ, he revealed his Son to the world." But this is false to the context, and makes the rest of the verse a useless tautology. We must admit, then, with Chrysostom, Beza, Winer, Olshausen, De Wette, Neander, Meyer, that Paul means to say that God revealed his Son *in him*, in his soul, to his spiritual apprehension. And this truth has never been questioned. No one ever supposed that a mere revelation of Christ to the senses, made Paul a Christian, much less an Apostle. The whole doctrine of Christ's person, work, sacraments, and second coming, was revealed to Paul, not through the other Apostles, but by Christ himself.† In alluding to these repeated revelations, he seldom has occasion to tell us whether they were visible and audible, or purely spiritual. But there is a very plain reason why he should specify, in the Epistle to the Galatians, that Christ had been revealed within his soul. It is a prominent object of his argument, to prove that Christ is a living power to every one who has received him. "He that wrought effectually *in Peter* to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty *in me* toward the Gentiles."‡ Both received this inner spiritual revelation. But where is the "only", to signify that they received no other?§ This text simply asserts one well-known truth without denying any other, or intimating that the whole truth is included in this rapid statement. No attempt has ever been made to

* Gram. des N. T. 3te Aufl. p. 177.

† Gal. ii, 8.

† 1 Cor. ii, etc. 1 and 2 Thess.

§ Cf. Zeitsch. Wiss. Theol. 1863, s. 208.

show, from other allusions to his conversion, that Paul expresses any doubt of the objective character of his Christophanies. The Vision Theory must, therefore, be defended exclusively by his general character, and his preparation of mind and conscience for the delusion.

The only evidence of Paul's visionary character in general, which deserves any attention, is derived from 2 Cor. xii. The allusion to his speaking with tongues, in this connection, is a gross misrepresentation of his doctrine of the Charisma; and the "convulsive and epileptic fits" are caricatures of his confessions of bodily weakness. But he is said to acknowledge, in this classic passage, that he is a visionary.

When did he have these "visions and revelations?" This epistle was written* in A. D. 57 or 58. These experiences may have occurred, then, as late as 43 or 44. The latest date at which his conversion can be placed is 41,† and the years between 35‡ and 38§ have been adopted by the best chronologists|| An interval of from six to ten years between the conversion and this vision is possible. And some interval is demanded by both chronology and exegesis. It is, therefore, the conclusion of nearly all modern authorities, that this passage refers, not to his conversion, but to an event mentioned in no other part of the New Testament.* With this, Baur^b and Strauss^c are forced, rather reluctantly, to agree. We know absolutely nothing, then, of nervous excitements, or states of ecstasy, previous to, or at the time of his conversion.

But does this passage prove that his general character was visionary, and that he was liable to conditions of body and mind in which his own fancies would be mistaken for outward realities? Precisely the contrary. He was perfectly able to make this distinction. He knew that he was in a condition which was beyond his own comprehension. He knew that the things he seemed to see must not be reported as outward facts,

* De Wette, Neander, Ellicott.

† Wurm.

‡ Pearson.

§ Auger.

|| Winer, Realwörterbuch, ii, 217-8.

^a Neander, Pf. u. L. i, 110. Hilgenfeld, Zeitsch. Wiss. Theol. 1862, 225, f.

^b Paulus, a. 659.

^c 301.

the words he seemed to hear were "unspeakable," "not lawful for a man to utter." Whether he was in the body, or out of the body, he knew not, God only knew. This he repeats, as if foreseeing that some careless or skeptical reader might confound this vision with his clear report of facts. Instead of being exalted above measure by this rapture, he is humiliated, and made to feel his own weakness. Is this the man who is constantly mistaking his own fancies for actual occurrences? Even Baur can not help remarking this feature of the text: The Apostle may have had an ecstatic element in him, but this was held in such strict subordination by his clear and self-conscious reason, that it could never pass over into fanaticism.*

Besides, the occasion which draws from Paul this reluctant confession of a rapture to which he had not alluded in any of his previous epistles, forbids all possible reference to any appearance, to his senses, of the risen Saviour. His authority as an Apostle was called in question. In the previous chapter, he proves that he is not a whit behind the very chiefest of them, (ver. 5,) by speaking as a fool, and glorying after the flesh; i. e. by boasting of the labors, (ver. 23,) and persecutions, (ver. 25,) and perils, (ver. 26,) and responsibilities, (ver. 29) of his office. Then, in xii, 1, he pauses abruptly, acknowledges that it is not expedient for him to boast of these outward evidences of his authority, and introduces another sort of evidence altogether. This transition is lost in our version: *Καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ οὐ συμφέρει μοι, ἐλεῦσμαι γὰρ εἰς ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου.* I will boast no more of these outward proofs of my authority, *because* I have another proof, namely, the visions and revelations of the Lord. Whether he places these visions above the other evidences, or not; whether he claims, or not, that a man who has received such proofs of Christ's acceptance of him, has an advantage

* Paulus, 658. Westcott has a strange note on this text: "Paul notices the doubt which he felt as to the objective character of the revelation which he had received." p. 98. How such a critic could have fallen into this fatal error, is perfectly incomprehensible.

over those Apostles who have only seen him with bodily sense,* he certainly insists that they are altogether different from "the flesh," and by no means to be confounded with his report that he had "seen the Lord."† This was one kind of evidence which he shared with all the Apostles. The visions were different evidences, of which he was forced, very reluctantly, to boast.

There is no proof, then, that Paul had any visions, at all, before his conversion; his subsequent visions prove that he distinguished clearly to his own consciousness, and carefully to his readers, the vision from the physical reality. Thus the first requisite to a delusive rapture at his conversion, is a pure fancy of the critics.

But even if this were, in fact, to be found in Paul's character, it would have led to "visions of Moses and Elias," not of the hated Jesus, without misgivings of his own conscience. With all this nervous excitement, and pharisaic belief in the resurrection, he never would have imagined that Jesus of Nazareth appeared to him alive, without having doubts harassing him day and night for a long time, whether the Christians might not, after all, be in the right, and he in the wrong. Again we meet a decisive question of fact.

The skeptical critic receives unexpected aid, here, from his opponents. Many of the most orthodox authorities conjecture that Paul must have been deeply impressed with the joyful faith of Stephen; reminded of many prophecies confirming the Messiahship of Jesus; obliged to fight against this increasing conviction; and thus prepared inwardly for the miracle on the road to Damascus.‡ Bengel regards this preparation of conscience so mature at the time of his conversion, that the

* L. Paul weakens this argument by insisting that he claims this advantage. *Zeitsch. Wiss. Theol.* 1863, s. 200.

† 1 Cor. ix, 1; xv, 8.

‡ Olshausen. 4; 469 (Trans.). Pressensé, *Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'église chrétienne*. I, 436, f.

question "who art thou, Lord?" was quite superfluous: "*Conscientia ipsa facile diceret Jesum esse.*"*

It is important to bear in mind, that the question is not whether he had a conscience void of offense at this time; whether he had not many a conflict with himself, recalled long afterward in the seventh of Romans; whether he did not feel, after these unavailing struggles to keep perfectly the law of God in his own strength, the need of redemption; but the only question before us is, whether Saul of Tarsus had any doubts that Jesus was a deceiver, and his disciples ought to be put to silence?†

It is admitted by all that this is a pure conjecture, without the support of one fact in history, or of one word in any of his writings. But more than this, it is expressly contradictory to the record he has left of his own experience. In the beginning of nearly all of his epistles, and in many other passages, he declares that he was "called to be an Apostle by the power of God, by the effectual working of his power." Whatever this means, it does not mean that he "was prepared to be an Apostle by the remorseful workings of his own conscience." Up to the very moment of this calling—we have his own word for it—he was exceedingly zealous of the traditions of the fathers;‡ a blasphemer, a persecutor and injurious, but doing it all ignorantly in unbelief;§ he verily thought that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus;|| a blindness which finds no excuse, but a dreadful explanation in his remarkable testimony, that to them who are unbelieving, nothing is pure, but even their mind and conscience are defiled."

There was no preparation, then, of mind and conscience for a vision of the risen Jesus. The conjectures of a psycholog-

* *Gnomon*, ubi *supra*.

† Neander has made this distinction very carefully. After stating, with his usual fairness, the other conjectures, he shows that a restless conscience might exist in general, without any doubt about the special duty to persecute the Christians. *Pf. u. L.* i, 103, f.

‡ *Gal.* i, 19.

§ 1 *Tim.* i, 12, 13.

|| *Acts* xxvi, 9.

• *Tit.* i, 15.

ical, and of a moral cause for this experience, is not only without the support of fact, but contradictory to fact. Here is a man of calm and self-possessed reason, persecuting others one day for proclaiming that Jesus is alive, and the next day proclaiming it himself! How, then, can we account for Paul's belief in the resurrection, but by the fact, that he did actually see the Lord Jesus?*

We have followed, thus far, the method of rationalists, and have shown that their theory is based upon pure conjecture, without the foundation of a fact or a word in the epistles, which they accept as historical. Now we advance a step further: the method itself is vicious, and does not deserve the name of historical criticism. They all, without exception, begin with Paul, satisfying themselves that he is visionary, then, on the ground that the other Christophanies were like his own, assume that they were also hallucinations. "Paul describes his own visions of the Lord in the same terms as those of the other Apostles. Therefore, their assurance of the resurrection must have depended upon mere vision also.† "The appearances of Jesus after his death, related in the gospels, had substantially no other character than that which marked the appearance of Christ to the Apostle Paul on his journey to Damascus. Thence, we may conclude that the accounts in the gospels, which represent the risen master as having a material body, can not be well grounded. Consequently, the risen Christ is the transfigured and glorified Christ, the Lord who is the Spirit.‡

If the belief in the resurrection had originated with Paul, and the church had been led to embrace it after his conversion, this method would be historical. But no one claims this to be the fact. Those who assign the latest dates to the composition of the gospels, and claim that all the details of time and place when the successive appearances of the risen Saviour occurred, are mythical, admit that the fact of the resur-

* 1 Cor. ix, 1.

† Holsten, Zeitsch. Wiss. Theol. 1861, 276.

‡ Schenkel, ii, 314.

rection was universally believed among Christians before Paul's conversion. Therefore we are bound to ascertain, first, the cause of this belief by them, and then infer what the same cause would produce in the mind of Paul. The historical method is precisely the reverse of that of the Vision Theory.

But how can this cause be ascertained without the use of documents which our adversaries will deny to be historical? There is a narrative of the resurrection, and of the successive appearances of the risen Saviour, which has never been challenged, nor even been accused of anything legendary or mythical. "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scripture, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scripture; and that he was seen by Cephas, then by the twelve; and that he was seen by above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep; after that he was seen by James, then by all the Apostles."* This was the cause of the belief in the resurrection! Peter and James and all the Apostles, and above five hundred witnesses, most of whom could be appealed to, many of whom were doubtless appealed to after this was written, believed that Jesus rose from the dead, because they knew that he was crucified, dead, and buried, and yet afterward they saw him alive! This is history. No suspicion of its genuineness has ever been entertained. No mythical additions have ever been detected. It is the most clear, weighty and compressed history ever yet recorded in human language. If we had a narrative of this fact from the hand of Peter and James and each of the five hundred witnesses, admitted to be genuine, and above all suspicion of mythical interpolation, the historical evidence would be more voluminous, but not more decisive. We have here, in the pages of genuine history, the consistent testimony of a large number of independent eye-witnesses, to facts which they themselves have observed. We

* 1 Cor. xv, 3-7.

submit, therefore, that the condition demanded by skepticism is fulfilled. "The untruthfulness of such testimony is more incredible than the fact to which they witness."*

To this it is objected,† that this narrative does not go beyond the simple assertion that he rose again and was seen by them, without specifying the times and places of these successive appearances. Is this objection made in honesty? The evangelists are legendary, because they do name times and places; the narrative of Paul is defective because it does not! We have no details of the circumstances attending the death of Christ in the Epistles of Paul. Is his testimony, therefore, the less credible that Christ was crucified? Does not the one word "cross," recurring on every page, paint to us the whole scene of shame and glory? We have no account in this author of the place, nor of the surroundings of the last supper. Does any historian, therefore, doubt that "the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread and the cup, and said—"As oft as ye eat and drink of these, ye do show the Lord's death till he come"? This practice still survives as an incorruptible monument of these facts. Yet the attempt to prove that this also originated in a vision of Paul, would not be more revolting to the historical spirit, than to begin the narrative of the belief in the resurrection, with the so-called visions of Paul. We know, from the authentic histories of Paul, that Jesus instituted the last supper, with its prophecy of death and a coming again, the same night in which he was betrayed. This is the point of time, therefore, at which the historian must begin his investigation of this fact; not at the moment when Paul "delivered" it to the Corinthians. It does not make the slightest difference whether the critic admits the Gospels to be historical or not. The Corinthian epistles are historical, and they leave no doubt of the date of this event. In the same way, whether the gospel narrative of the resurrection is historical or not, these same unchallenged histories forbid us to begin our

* Strauss, 289.

† Ibid. 290.

investigations of the subject with the appearance of the living Saviour to Paul. He had appeared before to eleven well known historical characters; to five hundred men who could be appealed to in Paul's time. We have the genuine historical testimony of these witnesses that he rose again the third day. This is the time, therefore, when every honest critic must begin his investigation, not the day when it pleased God to reveal his Son in Paul.

This is confirmed by the casual mention of the resurrection throughout the Epistles of Paul. It is evident to every candid reader that he is using a word whose meaning had been thoroughly established, and appealing to a fact which had been proved beyond question before his conversion. That he did not admit the fact, and that he was determined to put to silence, by the most desperate means, the professed witnesses of it, only serves to show how perfectly he understood that they meant, by the resurrection, not a vision, but a real coming to life of the dead. No man questions the evidence from his epistles, that this was the established signification of the word before they were written.

But after his conversion, he sought the society of these men, and remained in cordial coöperation with them all his life. How touching is the narrative of the reconciliation of the persecutor with his victims!* He abode fifteen days with Peter. He saw James also. He was received with magnanimity and perfect confidence. This would have been absolutely impossible without the confession, on his part, that he was wrong and they were right. He must have been convinced, against all his prejudices, that they were true witnesses of God, and that Jesus was actually raised from the dead. He must have received such explicit descriptions of the interviews which Peter and James had with the risen Saviour, that his record of the fact is just as credible as if it came from their own hands. When he alludes to the resurrection, he must mean by it precisely what they intended to

* Gal. I.

express before him. "Jesus Christ was declared to be the Son of God with power, by the resurrection from the dead."* "Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father."† "God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also raise up us by his own power."‡ "Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him."§ "He was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God."|| "To this end Christ both died and rose and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living."¶ Is it possible for any candid man to read such words as these, where the resurrection of Christ is so intimately associated with the previous weakness of the flesh, and resist the conviction that Paul always employs the word in the well-known sense already established?

This fact is fatal to all those modifications of the Vision Theory, which seek to avoid its grossest contradictions, without admitting the fact which is recorded in the gospels. The resurrection was a "reappearance of the spirit of Christ in the souls of believers;"^b or "a continued existence of his spiritual personality, revealed with certainty, but without any change of the dead body in the tomb."^c It would be hard enough to get any such meaning out of the words of Paul, if we had no key to their meaning. "His glorious *body*" is the object set before us in every allusion to the resurrection, not his "spiritual personality." But when we observe, in addition, that Paul employs a word with an established meaning, then we are bound to prove one of two things before his epistles can be quoted in proof of this theory. Either Peter and James, and the twelve, and the five hundred gave this spiritual meaning to the resurrection, or else Paul undertook to correct their opinions, "withstood them to the face because they were in the wrong" with regard to the great central fact of their faith, and gave an entirely new meaning to the

* Rom. i. 4.

§ Rom. vi. 9.

^bSchleiermacher.

† Ibid. vi. 4.

|| 2 Cor. xiii. 4.

^cSchenkel.

‡ 1 Cor. vi. 14.

= Rom. xiv. 9.

word! No one can doubt that this fearless man, who always claims to be an Apostle completely independent of the rest, would have denounced this belief in the actual resurrection of Christ as one of the "beggarly elements" of "the letter that killeth," if the fact had not been even so, and he had not been the chief of sinners for refusing so long to believe it.

For he did not believe it on their testimony. Rationalists are perfectly correct in saying that the same cause precisely must account for this belief in Paul, and in all the rest of the witnesses. But they are false in seeking this explanation first in Paul. Reversing their method, and restoring the chronological order, we have this impregnable argument: Peter, James, the Twelve and the five hundred believed that Jesus rose from the dead the third day, because they knew him to be dead and buried, and afterward they saw him alive. But Paul places himself in the same rank with them as a witness of the resurrection, and the same cause must be assigned for his belief in the fact. Therefore he also saw Jesus alive.

And this he asserts more than once in the most explicit manner. "Am I not an Apostle? Am I not free? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?"* It is unnecessary to enter into a critical examination of the parties in the Corinthian Church which called forth this self-defense. It is evident that "those of Cephas" and "those of Christ" were disputing with "those of Paul" the claim of the latter to be an Apostle, on the ground that he had no immediate acquaintance with the person of Jesus. In reply to them he insists, throughout both epistles, that he is not one whit behind the very chiefest of them, in any of the signs of an Apostle. Here, his having seen the Lord Jesus is the proof that he is an Apostle. In 2 Cor. ix, 1, etc., he has a mass of other evidences. But in every case† his signs are precisely the same as those of the other Apostles. Therefore he must mean that, like them, he had actually seen the living person of the Lord; he is also a witness of the resurrection.

* 1 Cor. ix, 1.

† Except 2 Cor. xii, where, as we have seen, he boasts of different evidences.

In 1 Cor. xv, 8, the necessity is even greater to give to the word "seen" the strongest possible objective meaning. The doctrine of the general resurrection of the dead is denied by some. This doctrine he proceeds to demonstrate by the fact (ii, 4) that Christ rose again; and this, again, by the additional fact that he was seen. Then follows the list of witnesses, and "last of all, he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the Apostles, that am not meet to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the church of God." The same word describes what was seen by himself, and by the others. It is evident, from the touching confession that follows, that he ceased to persecute the church because he was convinced by what he had actually seen, that Jesus was raised from the dead, and became both Lord and Christ. Therefore, he not only believes in the resurrection, in the same sense which the church had given to the word, but assigns the same cause for his belief, and claims the same authority as one of the witnesses of the fact.

What kind of an argument would this magnificent chapter contain, with any other than the literal meaning of the word resurrection? "Some among you say that there is no resurrection of the dead;" i. e. there is no continuous existence of the spiritual personality after death. Who denied this? Are we to suppose that the Jewish party who came to Corinth after the departure of Paul and Apollos,* and began to preach another gospel,† were Sadducees, proclaiming the annihilation of the soul at death? Or are there pupils of Plato, and of the greater Teacher who has brought life and immortality to light, so blind as to express open doubts whether the *ego* continues to exist after the body perishes!

The occasion for this masterly argument, expressly mentioned by the Apostle, was, that Gnostic teachers‡ had arisen in the Corinthian church, admitting the immortality of the soul, but denying that the dead body is raised to life.§ Sup-

* 1 Cor. iv, 18; 2 Cor. iii, 1.

† 2 Cor. xi, 4, seq.

‡ 1 Cor. iv, 18; 2 Cor. xi, 3, 13.

§ 1 Cor. xv, 12.

pose, then, this to be the meaning of the general resurrection of the dead, but not of the resurrection of Christ. "Now is Christ risen from the dead." His body, indeed, may be mouldering in the ground, but more than five hundred of us have seen him alive. Therefore, his real person must be still existing, and capable of being manifested to us. On the strength of these facts, you are all expected to believe that *this corruptible* shall put on incorruption, and *this mortal* shall put on immortality, and Isaiah's glorious hope shall be fulfilled, *Jehovah will swallow up death in victory!** We must be permitted to doubt whether Paul was quite visionary enough to expect this nonsense to be taken for sober argument.

But the strongest proof of Christ's literal resurrection, contained in this chapter, remains to be stated. The whole argument rests upon the assumption that "some" denied the *doctrine* of the resurrection of the dead, but none would deny a well-attested *fact*. Its object is, not to give in detail the evidence of this fact, but to show that the fact can not be separated from the doctrine. For it is of the greatest importance to bear in mind, that the resurrection of Christ is not a doctrine of the Christian church, to be received by faith, but a fact of history. It is a fact in precisely the same sense that his death and burial are facts. It is supported by evidence essentially identical in kind. These facts, which must be received by every candid historian, whether he has the faith of the Christian or not, are to be bound together indissolubly as the groundwork of all Christian doctrines, and, among the rest, of the doctrine of a general resurrection. This doctrine is an object of faith. No one pretends to subject it to historical tests. But the fact upon which it rests, is not an article of Christian faith. This is a very common, but a fatal mistake. It is just as reasonable to speak of faith in the victory of Wellington at Waterloo, as to speak of faith in the resurrection of Jesus. This is a fact of history. The resurrection of the dead, in the last day, is an object of Christian faith.†

In this way Paul treats them. He first sums up, in the

* Isaiah xxv, 8.

† Westcott, p. 3. Güder, Bull. Théol. 1866: 83.

briefest manner, the historical evidences that Christ rose again the third day;* adds to this the *reductio ad absurdum*;† then takes for granted, throughout the chapter, that this fact is established beyond question, and makes it the basis of his demonstration that the dead shall be raised up, and of his description of the manner and the body in which they will come. This summary statement of the great fact upon which everything depends, is a ground of suspicion to Strauss, but to every candid historian, it is the most convincing proof that the fact was already admitted, even by heretical sects in the Christian church. It was not the fact which needed illustration on this occasion, but the inseparable connection of the disputed doctrine with the established fact. Therefore, in about twenty-five years after the death of Christ, while nearly all the eye-witnesses of the events of that time were yet living, the fact of the literal resurrection of Christ had become, not only the foundation of the Christian church, but the object of final appeal in controversy. It is impossible to account for this universal belief, by both heretics and orthodox, without the miracle itself of the resurrection.

A mass of arguments, in favor of this conclusion, might be gathered from the epistles of Paul admitted by our adversaries to be genuine. They are given so fully in the authorities we have quoted, that we must content ourselves with the briefest possible allusion to a few of them, referring the reader to Westcott especially, for their full development. It is evident, from many allusions similar to that in 1 Cor. i, 23, that the death of Christ continued, for a long time, to be "a stumbling block to the Jews, and unto the Greeks foolishness." Even the Christians of both races must have regarded it, at first, rather as a difficulty to be explained, than as a spring of blessing. How differently is the fact treated in the writings of St. Paul! The death of Christ, the mode and issue of that death, is the centre around which all his doctrine turns. He determines to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. He refuses to

* 1 Cor. xv, 3-11.

† 1 Cor. xv, 14-19.

glory save in the cross of Jesus Christ. What possible explanation can be given of this sudden change of sentiment, without the fact of an actual resurrection? In this fact it is clear, that the death of Christ was not a defeat, but a "giving himself for our sins,"* a "commending of God's love toward us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."† While the death of Christ stands alone, it is a cruel disappointment to the highest aspiration of humanity; but with the resurrection, it becomes the revelation of the one mediator, by whom every blessing comes; the one all-containing presence by whom men are bound together in "one body."‡ In his person, every difference of race, of station, of nature, is done away. In Christ, our whole life and being and work are centered.

It is easy to say, that this transformation of the cross from a stumbling block to the central truth of the Christian church, is sufficiently explained by the universal belief in a delusion. And long familiarity with the epistles which describe this change, renders the language of skepticism on this point less shocking than it would be, if we could realize the magnitude of the revelation conveyed by the words of the Apostle in the beginning. "The fitness of the doctrine to satisfy the guilty conscience, makes us inclined to believe that Peter and John and Paul would believe it as a matter of course. But if we place, on the one side, the outward circumstances of Christ's death, and, on the other, these interpretations of its significance; if we measure what seemed to be the hopeless ignominy of the catastrophe by which his work was ended, and the divine prerogatives which are claimed for him, not in spite of, but in consequence of, that suffering and shame; we shall feel the utter hopelessness of reconciling the fact and the triumphant deductions from it, without some intervening fact as certain as Christ's passion, and glorious enough to transfigure its sorrow. If Christ rose from the dead, all this is intelligible. If he did not rise, we have not only to explain how the belief in his resurrection came to be received without any preparation of conscience,

* Gal. i, 4.

† Rom. v, 8.

‡ Gal. iii, 26.

and without previous hopes which would lead to its reception, but also how it came to be received with that tenacity of personal conviction which could invest the life and person of Christ with attributes never before assigned to any man, and that by Jews who had been reared in the strictest monotheism."*

The same admirable pages will give the reader the argument from the general expectation of the Apostles that Christ will come again in glory, and from their interpretations of the sacraments. But we can not pass over a fact more significant than any of these changes of opinion, the transformation of their lives. Whatever may be thought of the book of Acts, no rationalist will deny that the characters of the Apostles are unique in history. Contrast their life and work with those of the Hermit and the Crusaders, Mohammed and the Mussulmans, Smith and the Mormons, modern Spiritualists, and the fanatics of every delusion. What prudence and moderation, what charity, what forgiveness and patience in persecution distinguishes them from the delirious exaltation of the victims of superstition! They have continued revelations; strange tongues are speaking, the lame are walking, the blind are seeing, the sick are recovering, in the name of Jesus;† these signs only convince the doubting of their authority, but never leave a trace of frenzy or arrogance in them. With unparalleled humility, waiving all supernatural honors, they march, with the simple authority of the truth, to the conquest of the conscience and the heart of the world! Did ever deluded mortals accomplish such a work in such a way? Did men who confess themselves to have been under a guilty delusion once, ever become transformed into heroes by a greater delusion? Did Paul fight with the savage beasts of Ephesus, and, first of all, with the most savage prejudices, in his own mind, that ever yet blinded a human conscience; curb his impetuous temper to plead with unreasonable friends, and meet the malignant hate of enemies in a spirit equally removed from the vengeance of the bigot and the exaltation of the en-

* Westcott, pp. 109-112.

† 1 Cor. xii, 14.

thusiast, and at last crown the sublimest life mere man has ever lived on earth, with the offering of his blood—and all this in witness to a delusion, a delusion which he knew all about before he fell into it, a wicked delusion which he once determined to hunt out of the world with fire and sword? And, after all this has been rationally explained, the fact will still remain, that this same delusion has been steadily growing in power for eighteen centuries; that it is celebrated every seventh day by the best men on earth in acts of exalted worship; that they are offering the adoration of obedience, faith, hope, and love, to a mere man, whose promises were all proved false by his shameful defeat at last, who was long ago dead, buried, and crumbled to dust; that the Christian church, built upon the quicksand of delusion, has outlived the storms of centuries; that the deathless longings of the soul crushed down by guilt, with all that is truly holy in human aspirations, have been satisfied with a dreary delusion:—these are some of the imperishable facts of history, which press for a place in the Vision Theory!

There is no place for them. There is no place for any fact there. There is no such thing in history, unless the resurrection of Jesus Christ be an actual fact.

Result thus far: The destructive criticism of the rationalists admits no documents on this subject to be historical, except the four Epistles of Paul to the Romans, to the Galatians, and to the Corinthians. For the sake of the argument, we have confined our attention to these. They are doctrinal and practical; and statements of facts which they contain, are, therefore, more weighty as historical records, because they form the basis of reasoning which would fall to the ground if they were disputed. Among many facts thus established by the explicit testimony of many witnesses, and the tacit admission of thousands in every part of the world, are the following: Jesus was betrayed to death; the same night he instituted an ordinance designed to keep sacred his memory, shew forth his death, and keep alive the expectation of his coming again. This

sacrament was observed in precisely the same manner in Paul's time, and survives to the present day. Jesus was crucified, dead, and buried. The third day he rose again. These facts were never doubted by any member of the Christian communion. But the doctrine of the general resurrection of the dead was denied by some in the Corinthian church. As soon as the Apostle heard of this, he wrote them a demonstration of the doctrine on the ground of this well-known fact. He did not attempt to prove the fact in detail, but simply referred to the proof he had already delivered to them: that Christ was seen alive, after his death and burial, by more than five hundred men, most of whom were then living and could be questioned; twelve of whom are historical characters well-known to us; one of whom is the writer himself! We submit that, if anything can be established by historical testimony, these letters of Paul establish the fact, not only of the belief in the resurrection of Christ, and of his continued personal existence in a form which could be manifested, but of the miracle itself, as the necessary ground of this belief, and the mode of this manifestation.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ART. II.—CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

By REV. S. M. CAMPBELL, D.D., Rochester, N. Y.

It is the object of this article to show that the Christian Religion is favorable to Civil Liberty; and, as both of these terms have been extensively misunderstood, it will be well to commence with a definition.

Absolute liberty is impossible to a human being. Man was created to be the subject of a government; and even the Son of God was made in the form of a servant when he was found in the likeness of men. Human liberty is surrounded by restraints; and as these are of one sort or another, we bestow

upon it this or that specific name. Thus, where one is restrained by the laws of nature only, we speak of him as enjoying natural liberty. This, however, requires solitude. There is an old story, with which we charmed our boyhood, of a man who, for a long time, dwelt alone upon an island. A person so situated, has all the liberty of nature. There are no books of law for him to study, nor constables to arrest; no courts to try him for alleged offenses. If he chooses to appropriate anything he sees to his own use, there is no one to question his right to it; and if he inclines to the habits and manners of a savage, there is no one to be offended by it. He is accountable to God, indeed, and that involves more particulars of restraint than might at first be supposed; but, so far as human government is concerned, he is entirely free.

It will at once be discerned, however, that a person so situated is the subject of a law. Saying nothing about his duty to God, he stands in very close relations to nature. There are things he must do, or he will be visited with punishment; and there are other things which nature forbids him to do on peril of his life. He enjoys natural liberty; and that means liberty under those laws which God has given to nature.

Solitude, however, does not satisfy men. It was said, very early in human history, that it is not good for a man that he should be alone. We find it a part of our nature to seek society. We organize into families; we cluster in towns and cities; and what liberty we have must, for the most part, be enjoyed in the social state. We call this civil liberty: indicating that the person on whom it is conferred is a *civis*. In solitude one may be more free, but in society we have freedom of a more valuable kind.

The story of our islander was, that he found company after a while, taking a young savage into his hut. The instant he did this, his own liberty began to be restrained. As the social state began forming, the freedom of nature was brought under law. The company of the young savage was not the most valuable, but, poor as it was, it had to be paid for. God sel-

dom gives us anything good except through our sacrifice ; and Crusoe was obliged to make a sacrifice for the company of his man Friday, much more important than one would at first have supposed. He was obliged, from the moment he took an associate into his humble dwelling, to surrender his interest in a considerable portion of all the good things he had gathered around him. He had to divide his food with his man ; to give up a portion of his time to educating him ; and to surrender to his occupancy a fair share of his rude home. This was the law of the case. At this point originated what has been miscalled the Social Compact. God, who ordained the constitution of nature, no less ordained that of society ; and no sooner are two persons brought to dwell together, than a government begins. It is a government having claims upon the master, rudely answering to a constitution ; and it is one which has claims on the servant, answering to a code of laws.

This is the beginning of things. In this example we have both society and government in the germ. With a broader population the government is more clearly defined ; with a more advanced civilization the laws become more complicated ; and, as social advantages multiply, the restraints grow more numerous, and are more rigidly enforced. When our islander returned to London, he found himself amid laws which were the growth of ages—laws, the bare study of which had occupied men well for a life time. If he undertook to exercise his natural liberty there, he would soon find society rising up to take care of him. On the island, he could cut down trees, and kindle fires, and fire guns, as it pleased him ; but in London, he could do it only as allowed by law. He could have liberty, but only so much of it as would not interfere with one of the rights of one of the people, in all the vast city around him. This was Civil Liberty—a much more valuable possession than Natural Liberty, but made so, chiefly, by circumstances imposing additional restrictions. It was greater wealth in smaller compass.

How to balance forces, so as to secure to each man all the

liberty consistent with the rights of others, is a question of statesmanship. The subject is not discussed in the Christian Scriptures; though it is assumed there, that, wherever men may be, they will find themselves the subjects of a civil government. Such government, administered on Christian principles, never will be oppressive, nor will the people under it, if Christians, be lawless; but whether the government itself shall be a republic or a monarchy, is left to be determined by the necessities of the case. There may be civil liberty under any form of government; that depends upon the manner in which it is administered.

Civil Liberty, then, is the liberty we may enjoy in the social state. He who is so protected by a government that he shall not, unnecessarily, be interfered with by others, while others are, by the same government, so protected that he shall not interfere with them, is a freeman.

The underlying principle of this statement, constitutes the great law of the social state. What is it? By what was our islander bound to divide his good things with his one companion? On what ground was it that, on his return to civilization, he was made subject to new restraints? The question admits of a ready answer—the man must do as he would be done by. He, and every other citizen, must be dealt with on the principle that, until a man makes it otherwise by a crime, one person is as good as another. In short, by seeking a definition of Civil Liberty, we have also come upon a fundamental idea of the Christian religion. "All ye are brethren," says our Lord; "therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even the same to them."

Let us now take our subject from the opposite side, and attempt a definition of Christianity. What is it? The inquiry is not for its fruit, nor its branches, but for its root. What is the central idea of the Christian religion?

Some have been disposed to say, that we find it in the principle already stated—the doctrine of the common brotherhood of man. There is no deeper doctrine, as some regard the Christian faith; and he who holds to it, and practically

carries it out, is, in their estimation, a Christian. This, they say, is what Christ came to set men doing—this is his gospel: Good will to man.

These views are susceptible of being presented in a very plausible manner; and they have been variously advocated by some of the most earnest men of our times; nevertheless, they come a great way short of the truth. Good will between men is, indeed, a branch of the Christian faith; but a branch that can bear no fruit unto perfection, except as it abide in the vine. The doctrine of our common brotherhood is even fundamental to the system, in the sense that there can be no Christianity without it; but it always fails when taken out of its proper connection with more important truths, and set up to do business on its own account. Christianity is this: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." Jesus Christ came into the world, not merely to teach men the doctrine of human equality, but to make an atonement for sin: and would we know how that atonement was made, we have it in these words: "he hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." It is the notion of substitution, which finds expression in this sublime transaction. The prophet stated it when he said: "He was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed." This is the vital principle of the Christian faith—the doctrine of the Atoning Sacrifice⁺ of Jesus of Nazareth, the eternal Son of God.

This Atonement, when closely examined, resolves itself into several particulars. It is like one of those grand territories of light which stretches away among the stars, and which the astronomer assures us consists of a multitude of distant constellations. Under the steady gaze of intelligent faith, the Atonement is found to involve numerous truths and doctrines. Thus, on one side of it, stand several statements concerning our ruin. One is, that we are all children of apostate parents; another is, that we are all depraved; and another is, that we

are all under condemnation. On the other side, we have a group of statements in regard to our recovery. One is, that God is the Father of us all; another is, that Jesus Christ died for us all; and another is, that salvation is offered to all. This is a plain view of the essential idea of the Christian religion; and the business we have with it, in this argument, is to make inquiry whether it stands in any friendly relation to human freedom.

Let us quite carefully observe, then, what these several propositions are. Let us particularly notice how sweeping they are; how broad their terms; how the word *all* enters into each one of them. By these, are we put upon common ground; and that in relation to our most important concerns. To reach the centre of the Christian system, we are, indeed, obliged to go deeper than the mere doctrine of the common brotherhood of man; but when once that centre is reached, with what new confidence we come back to give that doctrine our support. It is not, merely, that we find it in a single sentence like the golden rule, but that it is an immediate and essential deduction from the grand conception of human redemption.

The Christian faith, then, so far as it is intelligently held, and consistently carried out, must always be favorable to Civil Liberty. That is not the only good thing it contains, but it is one thing. No man can understand the gospel without a dawning idea of human freedom; no man can consistently embrace the gospel, without also holding the essential principles of Civil Liberty as a precious treasure and a sacred trust. For, it is not as if our Christianity were an idea only; it is an idea, but it is more. It is an idea to be wrought out in real life. It is something to take possession of the heart, to command the conscience, and to govern the man; and, wherever it thus prevails, Civil Liberty will surely follow in its train. The man who is thoroughly a Christian governs himself. If he trespasses against another, it will, ordinarily, be by mistake; and, because we are all liable to mistakes, governments might be needed, even if we were all Christians of the

better sort. But, in that case, governments could well afford to relax their rigor, taking on the mildest and most paternal form. In a world entirely populated by such a race, there would be neither a tyrant nor a slave. Indeed, it is seriously proposed, by the spread of Christianity, to have such a world; and the divine promise is, that the endeavor shall be successful. The covenant with the Lord Christ is, that he shall yet thoroughly govern all the nations; and when he does so, we shall have, not only the fulfillment of the declaration that he "came into the world to save sinners," but of that other glad message, also, that he shall "proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound."

Just here, an objector might raise a question. Christianity, he might say, finds its embodiment in the Church; and so powerful was the Church once, especially in Europe, that abundant opportunity was enjoyed for showing what it could do, at various times. From about the eighth century of the Christian era, to the twelfth, ecclesiastical law was supreme. Emperors were fain to accept their crowns at the hands of the Vicar of Christ, and, at the fulmination of an interdict, the whole continent trembled. These are facts of history, and the question is, how it happened, that, when the Church was triumphant, Civil Liberty was almost unknown.

Were we taking this subject from a Romanist point of view, this question would be one we should find it very difficult to answer; but, as Protestants, we have no other difficulty with it than this: that it obliges us to say some things concerning the Church of Rome, which are not very complimentary. There was, indeed, a church, in the dark days alluded to, which stood triumphant, but which gave men no freedom; but it was not the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ. The corporate and conspicuous Christianity of that historic period was what we call Romanism; and that, so far from being the Christianity of the New Testament, stands opposed to it at almost every vital point.

Christianity embraces, very distinctly, the idea of one sacrifice for sin; but Romanism teaches that a worthy sacrifice is

offered at every mass. According to the New Testament, a man can be justified only by faith; according to Romanism, he may also be justified by works. In the Christian system, we have one Mediator between God and man; in the system of Romanism, we have, of these mediatorial beings, a whole Pantheon. These contrasts are radical. They take hold on the vital forces of the gospel; and they could be enumerated at much greater length. The Church of Rome, in the Apostolic age, was a Christian church; but, misled by an ambition to rule all other churches, it departed from the simplicity of the gospel, and became a synagogue of Satan. Romanism is an apostasy. It does not, indeed, drop everything which the Christian system contains; but neither does the Mohammedan religion, nor the Church of the Jews. There are elements of truth in Romanism, such as the Trinity of God and the Divinity of Christ, which, in other connections, might be vital; but they are like the grains of wheat that were found in the wrappings of an Egyptian mummy—dead, being alone. With respect to individuals in the Romish communion, we may exercise charity; but with respect to the communion itself, it is time we had some tolerably settled opinions; and, as Protestants, how can we do less than come squarely up to the old doctrine, that the Church of Rome is an apostasy, and that the Papal power is Anti-Christ!

Certainly, if we were obliged to call Romanism Christianity, it would be very damaging to the present argument; for, on the subject of Civil Liberty, that powerful corporation has, very generally, been on the wrong side. Nothing is better understood than the fact that, to prepare men for liberty, they must be educated. There must be education, not for a few minds, who shall be eminently advanced beyond all others, but education for the masses. Well, then, are the masses in the Romish Church educated? So, it is well understood that, in order to a free government, there must be a high tone of public morals; but can Americans be expected to shut their eyes to the fact, that the Roman Catholic population of this country furnishes nearly three times its proportional percentage of

crime? in other words, that a man is three times as likely to commit some offense against the laws, if he is a Romanist, as he would be, if he were not? No class of people in the world are so thoroughly under the control of their spiritual guides, as these Romanists are; and so it has been for many centuries. If their system can do anything to elevate their morals, it certainly has had good opportunity; and yet, behold the result! This is what Romanism makes of men, wherever it prevails.

During the great struggle through which our nation has recently passed, the affinities of the Church of Rome were very clearly manifest. She was with slavery and not with freedom. Except at the beginning, when almost everything was swept along with the current, nearly all of the most intense Romanism of this country was on the side of the enemy. We had, indeed, some Romanists in the army—some were doing gallant service as officers; but these exceptional circumstances have not blinded the American people at all. The Romanism of this country was not loyal; it was kept under with difficulty. Once, it broke out; and then, we had, for a few days, a most admirable exhibition of the disposition it entertained toward our cause. Reference is here made to the July riots of 1863, in the City of New York. What if that had been a Presbyterian riot, as it was a Roman Catholic one? What if Dr. Adams, or Dr. Alexander, or Dr. Krebs, had called that crowd beneath his balcony, recognized in them his flock, and dismissed them with the Apostolic benediction, as was done by Dr. John Hughes? Could we reasonably expect the circumstance to escape attention? Could we reckon that the Presbyterian Church would receive no damage by it? If our religion turned out that kind of product, it would have to go down; and the sooner the better. Such a religion may affect what it pleases of affinity with liberty—we have tested it. Such a religion may cover itself all over with Christian phrases, and Christian symbols—it is no more Christian than if it put on the titles that legitimately belong to it.

This, then, is our answer to the question, why the world was not free when the Church was triumphant. Unfortunately,

it was not the Church of God. The Christianity which affiliates with Civil Liberty is the Christianity of the New Testament; the Christianity which Rome has so long been cursing; the Christianity which, when Rome was dominant, had to take itself to the dens and caves of the earth; the Christianity which found voice in Martin Luther and John Calvin; the Christianity which has, at last, asserted itself; and, in the presence of which, the Angel of the Revelator is already laying hold of the great mill-stone, saying, "Thus with violence shall great Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all!"

Another question, which an objector might raise, has reference to such things as, until recently, existed in our own country. Whatever we may say of other nations and times, here we have the pure gospel. This is not only a country nominally Christian, but the dominant Christianity, here, is of the Protestant type; and yet, it is not five years since there existed, among us, an institution, before which the power of the whole land was fain to do obeisance, which reduced several millions of human beings to the condition of mere personal chattels in men's hands. Knowing, so well as we do, how abject even the religion of this country sometimes was, in the presence of this cherished institution, how can we assume to say, that Christianity is friendly to the liberties of men?

In answering this question, it is perfectly fair to observe, that the slaves of this country never constituted any very great proportion of the population. In round numbers, they seem a great multitude, and they were, indeed, cruelly oppressed; but the land, at large, was, at that very time, enjoying Civil Liberty. Slavery was an exception to the general rule—one of those self-contradictions, of which human nature has shown itself capable, and to which it clings with singular tenacity. We took very good care of the institution, indeed, and that for a long term of years; but it was, from the beginning, hostile to our civil institutions, and to our Christian faith. Why the power of the gospel was not sooner brought to bear upon it, let those answer who kept silence in the presence of

this mighty wrong. This, however, deserves to be said: while the institution was in existence, it was a fair question, how much had better be done in the way of open attack upon it, and how much had better be trusted to the silent influence which Christianity always generates, and which is sometimes very powerful. The temptation was, no doubt, too much to take the silent course; and, no sooner had our religious teachers put themselves upon that ground, than a class began to appear, especially in the Slave States, who said that Christianity and slavery were perfectly agreed. There was a time, then, when the Christianity of this country, pure and good as it is, nearly suspended its efforts on behalf of the emancipation of the slaves. It would be too much to say, that there was a time when no one took up the neglected cause, but, for many years, few took it up who could give it much aid.

It might have been known that this state of things must come to an end; for the very men who were so opposed to agitating the exciting question, being some of them earnest Christians, were, every day, advocating principles at war with their practice on this subject. So, at last, it came up. We had it in our Missionary Boards; we had it in our Tract Societies; we had it in our General Assemblies; and happy were they who had it early. Such, after a while, had marched out of the woods; others were slowly coming on; others, by a natural reaction, were, perhaps, receding a little; but fortunately, at this juncture, God blew the war-trumpet in the land. When we heard that, we wheeled into line. Even those who had been quite silent, seemed glad to find an occasion to speak out. They tried to show, what was a little questionable, that they were perfectly consistent in so doing; but they, at least, took safe ground. Old records were raked up. Men went back to 1818. They said, "See here; we are Abolitionists—and always were!" and if it pleased them any to say that, it was of little consequence, so they were only ready, now, to stand up for the good cause.

The war of the slaveholders was, in large part, provoked by the Christianity of this country. As the Northern conscience

was quickened, the precious institution fell under criticism. The slaveholders said "we can not endure that," and they could not. As one testimony after another was uttered against slavery, they grew angry. They said, "we hate you!" Hating us, they undertook to go out from us; and their politicians taking advantage of the feeling, undertook to set up an independent government. This was rebellion. The legitimate authority of the country treated it as such; and, in the conflict, slavery was rather freely handled. We knew that this would be the result of any overt attempt to divide the Union; and we told them so; but they were not disposed to take our advice, and so they had their own way. It was the strong feeling that the doom of slavery was involved in the struggle, that so mightily rallied the evangelical Christianity of this country on the side of the government. Religious men had, on some previous occasions, been very generally opposed to the national war policy. It was so, certainly, in 1812, and it was even more so during the war with Mexico; but in this war of the Rebellion where liberty was at stake, it was as in the war of the Revolution; almost the entire evangelical sentiment of the country was enlisted in the cause. There were churches, indeed, in which the disloyal element found a quiet home, and some of them were what we, by courtesy, reckon evangelical churches; but our Presbyterian Zion was a very uncomfortable place for a disloyal man. No mention is here made of the churches in the South, because, on the subject of slavery, they were quite apostate long before the rebellion occurred; but, leaving them out of the question, it may safely be affirmed, that, except for the strength God gave from the sanctuary, we should never have been able, successfully, to accomplish our warfare. The preaching, the prayers, and the patriotic enthusiasm of our religious congregations, during the war, constituted an important element of our success, and was a striking feature of the times.

Thus, when the facts alleged against us come to be examined, they are found the rather to sustain the position here taken. While we see true Christianity upholding Civil Lib-

erty, we find apostate Christianity organizing for oppression; and, while we see even the true Christianity sometimes less active than it ought to be to defend the rights of men, we directly behold it, rising up to assert itself, and, when the struggle comes, wheeling into line, under the banner of the good cause. In our late struggle, the more marked evangelical Christianity of the country has fairly vindicated itself; and, hereafter, if any man shall reproach us for once having admitted the black idol to a place in God's house, we will answer him well, by pointing to the day when we poured out our prayers, gave our money with a free hand, and let go our brothers and our sons to fight in the cause of our country, because it was also the cause of freedom to the slave.

This, then, is the state of the case. First, Civil Liberty, reduced to its fundamental principles, perfectly identifies itself with the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man; and secondly, that Christianity, penetrated to those groups of original doctrine in which it centres, mightily stays up that conception of human equality, on which, as on a rock, the temple of human freedom must be built if it is ever to stand. If it be alleged that, when the Church was triumphant, the human race were oppressed, the answer is, that the triumphant Church was an apostasy, and not the Church of Christ; and if it be said that even where evangelical Christianity has prevailed, slavery has had a firm footing, the answer is, that slavery and Christianity have recently met in deadly conflict and that slavery has gone down.

If this argument has been conclusive, it follows, that liberty in this country has nothing to fear from our Christianity. Some persons seem to think that we need to guard ourselves on this point. They can not see how a nation can be perfectly free, if it, in any way, recognizes the Christian religion as above other religions; or if it assumes Christianity to be true and other systems not true. So extensively has this feeling prevailed, that some of our former Presidents declined even to appoint a national Thanksgiving Day, lest they should commit the government to a religion of some sort. The nervous fear

seems to be that, somehow, if we should conform our government strictly to the Christian rule, and publicly acknowledge Jesus Christ as Lord of all, we should damage the cause of true liberty among us. From the very beginning, however, we have maintained certain customs which, so far as they go, mark us as a Christian nation. All our public documents bear dates that are Christian. To quite an extent, we observe the Christian Sabbath ; adjourning Courts and Congress on that day, and considerably arresting our postal business. The introduction of the Bible into our public schools, especially considering the version introduced, is a still more decisive mark. Some of these things have been objected to ; but they have never endangered our liberties. The good common sense of our American people has decided that, though there are Jews among us, and Chinamen, and Romanists, it is perfectly fair to keep up certain things which mark us as a Protestant Christian people. And this decision is unquestionably right ; for the freedom there is among us is so entirely the fruit of our Christianity, that we can not let our religion go without losing our liberty with it. This is a Christian Republic, our Christianity being of the Protestant type. People who are not Christians, and people called Christians, but who are not Protestants, dwell among us ; but they did not build this house. We have never shut our doors against them, but if they come, they must take up with such accommodations as we have. We will give them an asylum from the oppressions of the old world ; we will give them free schools ; we will give them free homesteads ; they may vote at our elections ; and they may hold any office except the highest, even that being in their reach unless they are foreign born. But if we were to unchristianize our government to accommodate their views, we should forfeit all the liberty we have to offer them. If they like the partnership, as it has been made, well and good. If they will just understand that this is a Christian country, and not the Pope's country, nor a country where there is no God, they are free to come into the enjoyment of everything the land affords. But we must keep our Bible, and we must have

our Christian Sabbath, and we hope, some time, to secure a clear and unequivocal acknowledgment, on the part of our government, of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Saviour of men. If this disturbs any one's mind, we are sorry for his disturbance, but we can not change our plan. To give up these things, in order to afford men greater liberty, would be ruinous. Without these things there is no liberty for either them or ourselves. If any one, coming among us, finds that this arrangement is uncomfortable, perhaps he will do well to try some other country. The world is wide ; there is more land to be possessed ; let him go and make a beginning for himself, as our fathers did for us ; for, as for this land, we have taken possession of it in the name of the Lord Christ, and, if he will give us grace to do it, we mean to hold it for him till he come.

ART. III.—THE NATURE OF BEAUTY.

BY PROF. HENRY N. DAY, New Haven, Conn.

We assume the truth, that true life in man, perfect manhood, is but the incorporation of the Divine Creator's ideal in man's limitless development and growth. Not mere idea alone—not mere philosophy, of itself, as Grecian sages seem to have taught—not the inward principle alone, however perfectly apprehended in the intelligence ; nor yet the outward form alone, as the French mannerists of the last century seem to have imagined ; but the idea realized, the principle in the form, reigning in it and living through it—this is our ideal of a perfect life.

Moreover, it is the admitted prerogative of the human spirit that, unlike mere vegetable or instinctive life, it determines its own growth. The spirit must, itself, lay hold of this Divine ideal of a true man ; must lay hold, also, of this outer matter, in and through which the spiritual realizes itself and properly lives ; and must, still further, itself perform the work of embodying the given principle in this outer form.

In a perfect human life, thus, in the formation and growth of a perfect character in man, we at once detect three distinguishable elements or factors: the inner principle or Divine ideal; the outer form, or, more exactly, the matter receiving the form; and the embodiment of the principle in the form.

Speculative science has abundantly elaborated the first and the second of these elements or factors—the idea and the form—the internal nature and capabilities of the human spirit, with its conditions and relations, and, also, the outward characteristics of a true human life; it has given little attention, comparatively, to the last, which yet, it would seem, must be regarded as one of most commanding interest and importance. It is this element which we now propose to investigate.

We leave, then, the consideration of the real, the true, in man's nature, its attributes and its capabilities, which are the expression of the Divine ideal of man; we leave, also, the consideration of the realized results, the outward and resulting forms of a true life, perfect goodness and perfect blessedness; these phases of spiritual truth we pass by, and seek, for the time, to limit our view to the remaining phase, namely, the relation between these attributes and capabilities, on the one hand, and, on the other, their achieved ends and results. We leave, in other words, the ideas of the true and the good, and limit our investigation to the domain of the coördinate of these ideas. What can we call it else than the Idea of the Beautiful?

Indeed, what is now proposed, is but to justify this assumption, that may strike some as altogether paradoxical, the identification of Beauty with this embodiment of idea in form. And our method will be in the narrowest path of inductive research, to select some one undeniable instance of Beauty, and, by a careful analysis of its complex nature, apprehend those elements or qualities which are essential and constituent, abstracting them from such as are purely accidental; and then pass over the various classes of objects which are universally recognized as beautiful, to see whether these elements or qualities are really present in them also as essential and constituent,

and so have led us to denominate them as beautiful. In this way, it is hoped, we may arrive at a true and satisfactory notion of the nature of Beauty.

We have, all of us, had our attention arrested, near the close of some summer's day, by the appearance of a bow of light, exceedingly brilliant and varied in hue, and in form undeviatingly circular, without a break in its light, or an imperfection in its regular outline, arching the entire circuit of the visible heavens before us, and, seemingly, resting on a dark, chaotic mass of cloud, with which it appeared to be connected in close relationship. The outward sense is riveted to it by a most pleasurable sensation, and the inner spirit, by a most loving admiration.

This is the familiar phenomenon of the Rainbow—the outer occasion and the inner experience. It will be unhesitatingly accepted as an instance in which the Beautiful enters into our experience. It has been so ever. "Look," says the son of Sirach, "look upon the Rainbow; and praise him that made it; very beautiful it is in its brightness; it encompasses the heavens with a glorious circle; and the hands of the Most High have bended it."

Let us carefully seek to ascertain the constituting elements and essential properties of the complex phenomenon.

There is, in the first place, an affection of the outward sense; this is sensation. The eye takes in an object of wonderful brightness, of enchanting hue; of vast extension, and of most perfect outline. The sense is vividly and pleurably impressed.

There is, also, together with this lively impression on the sense, an intellectual activity awakened, equally decided and pleasurable; this is perception. It is no dream, no illusion. The mind perceives a portion of its sensitive organism impressed from without itself. It traces an outline, it marks an affection, that have come to it not from its own creation. It recognizes an object external to itself, distinct from itself. This recognition is attended by its peculiar pleasure.

A full and true contemplation of this phenomenon further

recognizes, in the fact that on the bosom of that dark cloud where before was but blackness and gloom and formless chaos, there is now a brightness and a glory, a form of perfect order and regularity of outline—recognizes, in the fact that the bow is now where it was not before, the presence of a cause at work, of a power which has acted and produced, brought into being, what we so admiringly contemplate. The reality of this producing power, of this working cause, no one who believes in the reality of any cause out of his own mind, can question for a moment. Not only is there a power necessarily recognized in a full contemplation, but it is recognized as a power of surpassing energy—a power bringing a dazzling light and splendor out of darkness and gloom, sudden order out of unmixed chaos, stretching its arm over a vast reach of the heavens, and holding forth its glorious work over a space we are unable to measure; moving its hand, too, in its work, with a marvelous skill and dexterity, evincing a shaping, as well as a producing energy, in blending, with matchless taste and inimitable delicacy of touch, the purest of hues, and tracing its arch with mathematical precision and exactness. This necessary recognition of a present power of marvelous energy and skill, is a fact, in our experience, for which it is idle to attempt to account on any other supposition than that the power is there, to be recognized by every beholding spirit, as truly as the outward form or outward brightness.

A full and true contemplation of this phenomenon universally and necessarily discovers still another element—that of intelligence appearing everywhere, in the order, in the interior design, in the relation of the parts to one another. Every part stands in an orderly relation to every other—the bow to the portion of the heavens in which it is placed and to the cloud on which it rests, as well as to the eye which contemplates it; the parts of the bow itself to one another, in the outline all drawn in exactest mathematical order and precision, and, in the color, each hue in its own place and mathematically definable relation to every other in position and in shading. So precise is this order, that, given any portion of the bow, the math-

emational mind can reproduce every other part, and reconstruct, in idea, the whole. This order is as objectively real as the power that brought the bow into being and shaped the outline and blended the various hues, or the cloud and mass of rain-drops from out of which this marvelous creation is produced. Like the power, it is not perceived, in the restricted sense of that term now prevailing, but intuited. It lies beyond the mere matter, and is revealed through it; and these intuitions of power and order are accompanied by the proper pleasure which attends all exercises of the intuiting faculty, and which ranks incomparably higher than the pleasures of sensation or of perception.

We have not, we apprehend, exhausted, as yet, all the elements of the phenomenon under consideration. There is given further, and universally and necessarily given, in a true and full contemplation of the heavenly Iris, an affection, as well as a power and an intelligence. It is revealed to us in the only way in which an affection can be, by its attractive power upon us, drawing us to it in loving sympathy, and awakening responsive emotions in our bosoms. There is an object of affection, then, as well as of perception and of intuition, of the reality of which, external to ourselves, we can no more entertain a doubt than of the matter in it which impresses our outward senses. The intuition of this affection that is revealed, and the emotion of sympathy and love which it awakens, by which it is, in fact, recognized as an affection, are accompanied by the pleasure which as naturally attends this form of our mental activity in its legitimate exercise as any other.

We have to notice still another element in this phenomenon. The power which we have intuited, and which we have found to move in intelligence and in affection, we find, on further contemplation, to work also in perfect freedom. The hand that has laid that bow so gently on the bosom of the storm-cloud, that has so delicately rounded its outline and blended its hues, has moved without checks or hindrances from within or from without. The perfect gracefulness that marks its forming work reveals a freedom unimpaired and without

defect, and unobstructed by any outer force. This element, too, is necessarily given in a true and full contemplation, and is accompanied by its own peculiar pleasure.

Now as, when the form and the color are given to us in the first stage of our contemplation—first, not in time, but in logical order, as objects of sensation and perception, we at once, and necessarily, suppose a substance in which these properties inhere; as these qualities are the signs, the expressions, the revelations of the matter to which they belong; so precisely when, in the second stage of our contemplation, the elements of power, of intelligence, of affection and of freedom, are given to us, we as necessarily and immediately suppose a being in whom these properties inhere. Power, intelligence, affection, freedom, are the signs, the expressions, the revelations of a living spirit. We recognize, accordingly, and by necessity, a spirit's presence, with the same attributes as essentially characterize our own spirits; and this recognition is attended by the peculiar pleasure of sympathy.

We can not fail, then, to recognize, among the complex characters of this phenomenon, these three elements: a form of mind or spirit, a portion of matter, and the revelation of the spirit in the matter.

The spiritual element, in conformity with universally approved use, whether it be in the form of power, intelligence, affection, or will, we will denominate *idea*; while the medium of revelation we will denominate *matter*—generalizing the term from its narrow and more ordinary import of gross, physical matter, so as to include that, whatever it may be, in which *idea* reveals itself—that which may become body to *idea*.

The presence of the spiritual element, of the *idea*, in all beauty, is hardly else than a matter of simple intuition. Philosophers generally have, accordingly, in some way, more or less fully recognized it; and some have seemed to regard it as the proper constituent of all beauty. Matter, indeed, is in itself purely formless, perfectly chaotic. It is only as mind moves upon matter that it can have form at all. Form, itself, implies mind as a forming principle.

The second element, also, matter, as medium through which the idea reveals its presence, is equally necessary. Matter, as shaped by spirit revealing itself through it, becomes form and can not be dropped from our apprehension in any experience of beauty. This may be in other mental activities; as is done in the mere contemplation of the real—the true. Although here some medium, some form, is indispensable for the revelation of any truth or object as real, yet by our power to abstract any one of the complex elements of an object from the rest for exclusive consideration, we may abstract the content from the form and confine our view to the content, to the real, alone. In this the beautiful differs from the true.

In like manner we contemplate the right and good, by abstracting the direction, or the end and result of a spiritual activity, from the form which reveals it to us, and drop also from prominent regard even the real in the nature of the spirit, the direction or tendency of whose activity we contemplate. But in this, that it retains the form, the beautiful differs from the right and good as it does from the true.

There is another relation of this element of form to the spiritual content besides that of medium, which it is important to take into account. The form preserves the spiritual content—the idea—and retains it for our continued, prolonged contemplation. The essence of all spirit is activity which appears only in succession—in successive instants of time, and can be contemplated only at the instant. Matter—form—preserves this activity for our leisurely study. Entering the inert mass of matter, this activity leaves its permanent impression upon it, leaves in it its own character or mark. In forms other than those of proper gross matter, in proper super-sensible forms, this activity, which is but for the instant, leaves its impression in a way exactly analogous to impressions of idea in gross matter. It leaves its character, its mark, on all other subsequent exertions of activity, which are different from what they would have been but for the successive, instantaneous activities that have gone before; so that we can read the past in the present, the nature and character of the by-

gone energy that has so formed the spirit, in the forms of its present activity.

In both these relations does form stand to the revelation of the spiritual. It is a medium of revelation, and also a means of retention, in which the spiritual is fixed and preserved. In sensible forms, it is the principle of inertia in matter by which this becomes possible; in super-sensible forms, it is the analogous principle of habit in mind which is the ground of this fixing and retaining capacity.

The third element of beauty indicated, is the revelation of the idea in the form. This must be characterized as the vital element. The apprehension of the idea or of the form separately or both conjointly without the apprehension of this relation of the one to the other—the revelation of the one through the other, does not give us beauty. If, as we may by our power of abstraction, in contemplating the complex object, we drop the form from view, by abstracting the idea from it for exclusive attention to the idea, we obtain only the real—the true. The philosopher may thus, in contemplating the rainbow, abstract the idea from the form, and attend only to the physical laws of refraction and reflection to which the rays of light are subject, or the various mathematical relations of the bow: he has, in this operation of mind, only the apprehension of the real—the true—no beauty entering into his experience. The child, on the other hand, may be captivated with the mere grandeur and brightness of the bow. His sense only is engaged. He has, in this, little or no experience of the beautiful, but only of the matter in which it is revealed. We may suppose it possible, further, for the mind to hold both idea and matter in view, apprehending them in some other relation, as in that of mere simultaneousness of time in the mental apprehension, or in other of many conceivable relations, but not precisely in this of the one as revealed in the other. In this case, there is no beauty apprehended.

We have a perfect analogy in the case of a logical judgment. We may think either of the terms separately from the other, or we may think them both at the same time, but not

in the relation of agreement or identity, and so without affirming or judging. We can not judge without a subject and a predicate ; but we can have either or both in the mind without judging.

We have another exact analogy in our notion of *man*. Soul and body are essential elements in this notion. We can have no notion of man but as consisting of both soul and body. But we can think of these elements, soul and body, in manifold relations to each other besides that one special relation in which they must be apprehended in our notion of man. The soul must be viewed as in body, as in vital relation to it, as embodied in it.

It is important, here, carefully to bear in mind the distinction between the reality and our apprehension of that reality. There may be a perfect man, while we fail to discern the perfection ; what is perfect may, to our imperfect vision, appear discolored, distorted. So the Perfect Man appeared to the distempered vision of his people. To our experience of perfect beauty, there is required perfect discernment by us.

Not only is undistempered vision required ; but a certain degree of power of vision. Mental energy is necessary in the apprehension of beauty. Certain forms of beauty may be apprehensible to an infant's capacity ; certain forms, it may be, can be apprehended only by an angelic capacity. And between these limits there are innumerable gradations of beauty in respect to the facility with which they may be apprehended, requiring corresponding gradations of mental energy. It is just so with truth—the apprehension of the real. That the world turns on its axis is a truth beyond the capacity of apprehension to some undeveloped minds who can, indeed, demonstrate its utter falseness and absurdity most conclusively to themselves, by the fact that their bodies do not fall off when the earth in its revolution brings them under.

Especially worthy of notice, here, is the consideration that this imperfect apprehension, arising from mere want of capacity, will perhaps more generally show itself in its grasping

but a part of an idea. The sense that can apprehend only the strong coloring of a Titian, will condemn and reject paintings which the world of cultivated mind have recognized as master-pieces of art. Not only may particular properties escape the apprehension of an incompetent observer, and so the whole object appear to him mutilated, incomplete, and therefore ugly, but what is more common still, the relations of the object may fail to be apprehended, and, in this way, real beauty be unnoticed. That famous city of blockheads, Thracian Abdera, it is fabled, rejected a statue of colossal proportions, with correspondingly gross features and rough outlines, that had been carefully proportioned by the skillful artist to be seen and admired on the top of the lofty citadel by observers on the ground, because so gross and rough as seen close at hand; and elevated, instead, a five-foot statue of Venus, which was, indeed, a master-piece of Praxiteles, but on the distant summit appeared only an unmeaning excrescence and deformity. So the Universe of God, the grand fabric of the All-wise, may, when apprehended only in a part of its properties and relations, seem wanting in beauty; while a full apprehension shall recognize it as a perfect cosmos.

We meet just here an inquiry which presents itself every where in all theorizings upon the nature of beauty—the inquiry: How far, and in what respects, beauty is relative?

It is remarkable how universally and how vitally this attribute of beauty—its relativeness—relativeness in its various modes, has shaped the theories that have been given of its nature. Thus the relativeness of beauty in respect simply of degree, we find Plato aiming to exhibit in his *Major Hippias*, when he represents the face of a beautiful maiden, regarded, by itself, as undeniably a true object of beauty, but becoming absolutely ugly when entering into the presence of angelic or divine beauty. So, he proceeds to instance successively, the maiden-face, a horse, a harp, a kitchen-pot, may be unquestionably beautiful, each by itself, but will become positively ugly in presence of a higher beauty. Such a relativeness we certainly can not question.

So, also, there is a relateness of kind appertaining to beauty; and this, both external—between the object and the contemplating mind—and also internal, between the several constituent elements of beauty. To the contemplating mind, beauty is not, so far as it is not or can not be apprehended; just as an object of sight is to the blind as if it were not: as music, of the richest melody, is as if it were not to the deaf. Still further, the higher beauty demands a higher, riper mental energy; so that, it may be, a real beauty shall be hid from the less cultivated that is manifest to the maturer and more vigorous capacity. If we add to this the further consideration that, by its power of abstraction, the mind may confine its view to any one or more of the several elements of a complex object to the exclusion of the others, we shall be ready to admit that this attribute of relateness between the viewing subject and the contemplated object may have a large place in the actual experience of beauty.

From the observation of the extent of this attribute of external relateness, and, as it would seem without a careful determination of its true nature, the Scotch theories of beauty have run off into utter skepticism as to the objective reality of beauty. Thus, Hutcheson suffers himself to acknowledge, in so many words: "Were there no mind with a sense of beauty to contemplate objects, I see not how they could be called beautiful." But in the hands of Lord Jeffrey, the skepticism stands out in the boldest shape of an utter denial of any beauty in the object apart from the contemplating mind. In his view, the mind itself puts into the object all the beauty there can be in it. There can be little doubt that the whole skeptical theory, in regard to the objective reality of beauty, has no other foundation than a mistaken apprehension of the nature of the relateness which there is in the contemplation of beauty.

From a like observation of the extent of the attributes of internal relateness, and a like mistaken apprehension of its true character, we find another class of philosophers running off into an equally false and fatal theory of beauty. Recogniz-

ing this internal relation between the elements of beauty, they have, at once, jumped to the conclusion that the relation is a mere discursive relation—a mere relation of logical dependence. Beauty, thus, with them, is mere object of the Discursive, the Reflective faculty, the Understanding. The whole proper pleasure, in our experience of beauty, is but the pleasure attending the exertion of this faculty, as it comprehends the many in one. Such is the theory of Kant and other German philosophers; such is the theory adopted from them and promulgated by Sir William Hamilton. But the true relation between the elements of beauty is no relation of quantity, no mere aggregation, no mere identification, no mere logical relation. Relation of soul in body is not mere aggregation—not mere identification of soul and body, as one; more than this, the contemplating mind recognizes a vitalizing element altogether foreign to mere soul or to mere body.

We have now attained, in an undeniable instance of beauty—the rainbow—this element of an idea revealing itself in fitting matter as a present element and as characteristic of the experience; and have found, also, that prevalent theories founded on the admitted relativity of beauty, which, at first view, seem to be in conflict with it, really corroborate the view we have taken of this element as the essential element of beauty, inasmuch as the theory explains and accounts for all there is in this attribute of relativity which can give any support to the theories in question. We will now, in a very cursory way, pass through the familiarly-recognized classes or kinds of beauty, to discover whether, alike in all, we find not only that this is an ever-present characterizing element, but also in such a way present, so characteristic and indispensable, that the very classification of beautiful forms recognizes it as the essential constituent of all beauty.

We speak, then, of a *perfect* beauty, implying a distinction of beauty into different kinds in respect of degree. But no distinctions in respect of perfection or imperfection are conceivable, but those that lie either in the perfection or imperfection of the idea revealed, in the matter in which it is revealed

as more or less fit or unfit for the revealed idea, or the revelation itself of the idea in the matter, while it is this last element on which the distinction chiefly rests.

We speak, again, of unity as a kind of beauty; of propriety and fitness, also; so, moreover, we speak of grace as a species of beauty. We imply, in such designations of different kinds of beauty, a distinction in respect to kind or essential nature. Now, if our view of the nature of beauty be correct, we should be able to found upon it a full, complete, exhaustive classification of beauty, including those distinctions that have just been named, and all others. We should find one class founded on the idea revealed; a second, on the matter revealing; and a third, on the revelation itself. Let us draw out this classification, on this theory, in scientific precision and completeness, and see whether it actually harmonizes with the distinctions familiarly and universally recognized, and, at the same time, justifies and explains them. If so, we shall find our theory substantiated as fully as the laws of belief and the nature of the case admit.

To begin with the idea: we have characterized idea as specific mental activity. As this activity may be regarded either in exertion, or in rest after exertion, we shall expect to find beauty modified every where, as in action, or in repose, the resultant state of action. This distinction, so immediately founded on the very notion of mind as essentially active, it is sufficient merely to indicate. We find it rising to view, all along our way, in our classification.

The distinctions of mental activity into three generic forms, of Intelligence, Feeling and Will, are familiar to all, and may be accepted as established beyond reasonable controversy. The idea, then, in the revelations of beauty, may, as we should naturally anticipate, be diversified in reference to these forms of mental activity. According as the idea is one of truth, of feeling, or of will, the beauty will be correspondingly modified; and we have given us at once the three general divisions of beauty, as determined by the character of the idea.

Under the first of these divisions, that of the Intelligence,

inasmuch as its forms are two-fold—1, immediate cognition, whether perceptions or intuitions, and whether regarded as originally attained or as retained in the memory and represented; and 2, mediate cognition, given us by the Discursive Faculty, or, as it should be denominated from its function being simply that of identifying the one attribute common to a plurality of objects, the Identifying Faculty—we should distinguish a two-fold beauty. So, in part, we find prevailing two classes of beauty corresponding to this distinction. We recognize a beauty which is called propriety—and this we distinguish as internal or external. We recognize an internal propriety—that is, a harmony and congruity in the parts of a whole which enable us to apprehend it as one whole—in other words, we recognize unity as a true kind of beauty. The source and origin of that admirable designation of the universe by the classic mind of Greece and Rome as *Cosmos* and *Mundus*, seem to lie in the fundamental connection between beauty and this harmony of parts and internal relations—this unity which is but a form of the intelligence. It is an essential attribute of intelligence that it apprehends its object as one whole. The revelation of an object as one whole, as a harmonized diversity, is a characteristic work of intelligence. Wherever we recognize this internal propriety, this wholeness of all the parts that are proper to an object, that belong to it, all in harmony, so as to constitute the parts into one whole—this revealed truthfulness in other words, we recognize, so far, beauty.

In like manner, we recognize an external propriety—a harmony of relations—not between the parts of a whole, but between one whole and another. We find it exemplified in the beauty of refined and pleasing manners, when all the conveniences, proprieties, fitnesses of the place, the time, the occasion, the persons, the attending circumstances generally, are regarded. We take little notice of the personal qualities otherwise, the power of intellect, the grade of passion or the characters of energy, the qualities of bodily form or complexion, the dress, except as they appear in these external rela-

tions, in their suitableness to things around, when we contemplate the beauty there is in manners. It is exemplified in discourse, in the orator, in like manner, in the observance of these external relations to the occasion, the persons concerned and the like. It is the Greek *τὸ πρέπον*, the Latin *decorum*, the *quod decet* which Cicero denominates the chief thing in art, which Milton also speaks of as "the grand master-piece to observe."

This kind of beauty, then, so universally recognized under different names, as propriety, fitness, unity, harmony, truthfulness, order, what is it every where but the manifestation of this mode of the intelligence?

So the other mode of the intelligence, the faculty of mediate cognitions, the faculty which, inasmuch as its essential function is that of identifying what is common to the many, the one in the diverse, we have called the Identifying Faculty—we find that revealing itself every where in familiarly-recognized species of beauty. The literature of art abounds with such phrases as "generic beauty," "specific beauty," "ideal beauty." They all point to this one original notion: that there is in the universe of being the ground of distinguishing what is common to many. There is a true type-form in the universe of God, which this identifying faculty apprehends, exactly corresponding to the nature and laws of this faculty. Wherever it appears, we recognize an attribute of mind; an idea, a form of mind is revealed to us, and there, so far, is for us beauty. The monstrous is but another name for ugly; it is the contradictory of beautiful. On this principle is grounded the law of all productive art, that not the individual, but the specific, be ever preferred. Whatever straggles off in art to the individual, the peculiar, shows the want of controlling intelligence, indicates an imperfection in the revelation of idea; and, therefore, is so far void of beauty, is ugly.

In like manner we find, as we should anticipate, a kind of beauty in which the idea or form of mind revealed, is feeling. We can not steadily and freely contemplate the rainbow in

its glowing brightness and the delicate blendings of its hues, reposing so quietly on the bosom of a dark and angry cloud that rolls its deep thunders within and darts its wrathful flashes abroad, without recognizing a feeling heart present and revealed. We see wrath assuaged and passing into love and kindness. While Intellectual beauty appears more appropriately in the spacial or extensive relations of the matter of beauty—in the figure, the outline, and interiorly in the positions and proportions of the constituent parts, Emotive beauty—the beauty in which feeling is the revealed idea—appears more in the intensive relations—the color, the tone of the object. Its distinctive character is recognized in language that speaks of beauty as warm and glowing, or the contrary; as gladsome or sombre, as tender or loving; or that characterizes beauty by its tone.

We find, still again, a form of beauty which is characterized as revelation of will, in which the idea revealed is will. The peculiar, characteristic attribute of perfect will is freedom. Its proper definition is the free activity of rational being. But the revelation of this idea we familiarly denominate *grace*. We never predicate gracefulness except of motion, or of repose the result of motion; for here, as elsewhere, we find an active and a resulting beauty; nor of any motion except so far as in appearance free. But will in expression, revealed, is free motion. If in nature, which in its very notion seems to exclude freedom and admits only the stern sway of necessity, we sometimes alight upon what we designate as graceful, we are ever forced to interpret the appearance as a symbol of freedom. The poet's nice sense so reads such natural objects. The graceful rivulet, Wordsworth at once apprehends as "winding by his own sweet will"; and Thompson exemplifies his characteristic delicacy and accuracy in his interpretation of nature, when he tells us of "free nature's grace." Nature is in no sense more a bond-slave of necessity, than she is blind and unfeeling. She no more lacks will, than she lacks intelligence and heart. She is sage; she is loving. She is free, however, only because there is a spirit breathing

in her; only as God reveals himself in all her forms, and speaks in all her utterances. Therefore is the face of nature beautiful; her voices music, and her various movements decked with grace. It is characteristically when nature appears but matter, inert—as inertia itself, that she is stiff, ungraceful in her motions. When the Creating or Ruling Spirit shapes her features, or sends out an animating glow into her countenance, or freely bends her inert limbs, then is she beautiful.

Passing, now, to the distribution of beauty in reference to its second element—the matter in which the idea is revealed—we alight at once upon four gradations or species, giving us so many distinct gradations or species of beauty. The first and lowest gradation is proper physical matter—gross, inorganic matter, the polar opposite of spirit. Wherever spirit enters matter, revealing itself through it, beauty appears. There is thus a true inorganic beauty, rising in specific grades of perfection from the lowest rank of well nigh chaotic mass—orderless, colorless, motionless mass—to the highest orders of inorganic beauty in the regular forms of the crystal, the soft brilliancy of the rainbow, the graceful motions of wave, or stream, or curling vapor. There is beauty in water, earth, and sky, peculiar to each great element. There is a beauty, thus, in ocean, in its limitless expanse, imaging the infinity of the Creating Spirit; in its purity of hue, as it deepens, from the bright green of its face where it nears the habitations of men on solid earth, to the deep azure of its distant, fathomless depths, reflecting the pure heart and profound affection of the God of heaven above it; in the easy sweep of its billowy waves, also, and the gentle roundings of its shores. There is beauty, too, in earth; in the regular strata of its mass beneath; in the majestic piles of its peaked mountains; in the kindly-blended hues of its variegated surface; in the mingled wild and gentle of its rock and hill and vale reposing every where in such grace.

The next higher gradation of matter in which idea may reveal itself, is that of mere vegetable life. As proper, gross

matter is pervaded with life even in this, its lowest form, we recognize a new beauty, different altogether in kind and higher in degree. The masses of earth put on a new charm when a free life wreathes its towering heights with coronets of forest-green, or decks its quiet vales with wavy grain or spreads over them its tapestry of foliage and flower. Earth comes nearer to us, enters deeper into the spirit's sympathies, when she robes herself in forms of life, even in her more massive shapes. And in her minuter parts, how far above the beauty of mere matter, is the regularity and fitness and ideal or specific harmony, which vegetable life so universally evinces; the depth and brilliancy of its various hues, too, their graceful blending and delicate gradations, showing every where the tracings of a divine pencil!

The next ascending gradation of matter, as revealing medium of idea in beauty, brings us to the forms of sentient being. As we enter here, we at once become sensible of an introduction to a world entirely new. As a medium more homogeneous with itself than mere vegetable being, the idea reveals itself, here, in altogether new and incomparably richer, more perfect forms, and comes still closer to us, and penetrates into deeper sympathies of our spiritual natures. The idea itself, as finding a medium more meet for its uses, puts out higher grades of its own activity. If there be intelligence revealed in the regularity of the snow-flake, soul in its purity and softness, and freedom in its easy, graceful fall; if these same attributes of spirit appear in higher forms in the fitnesses, the sympathetic relationships, and the graceful luxuriance of organic life; as, for instance, if in the modest violet, we discover a higher intelligence in the harmonious adaptations of its various parts to each other, and to all the demands of locality and of season, a higher scale of sensibility in its characteristic humility and love of retirement, as well as a higher freedom in the graceful rounding of its foliage and the blending of its hues, than in any of the revelations of inorganic matter; as we enter the region of sentient being, still richer, more essential, more perfect grades of the ideal meet us. In each of its sev-

eral forms, we find the idea at a higher point of perfection; as, for instance, the wisdom of design in the adaptations of organic function in the complicated structure of the lamb, the innocence, gentleness, joyousness of its sportive nature, and the freedom of its graceful gambolings, are of a higher order than the corresponding forms of the idea in the snowflake or the violet.

The highest gradation of matter, as revealing medium of idea, introduces us into the realm of proper spiritual being. The spirit has forms. In a true sense, every particular exertion it puts forth goes out in a form determinate and characteristic. There are forms of intelligence, forms of apprehending, forms of identifying or classifying; there are forms of sensibility, forms of joy and sorrow, of hope and fear; forms of relative emotion, of kindness, trust, and reverence; there are forms, too, in which free power goes out in graceful expression, forms of skill, of achievement. These proper spirit-forms may be enwrapped in forms of sentient life; as these in mere organic, bodily forms; and these, again, in those of gross matter; but they are distinct, peculiar, and are of a higher type and order.

The artist ever, in all departments of art, has what we justly term his *ideal*, which, in the consummation of his art, he is to embody in forms, perhaps, of mere physical sense. He necessarily begins with this ideal. It may be improved, perfected, as he proceeds to incorporate in these sensible forms—as in those of marble or of the canvas; but it exists first necessarily in his own mind in a true natural form. The melodies and harmonies of a musical composition all form themselves, more or less definitely, in the composer's mind, before he even gives visible representation to them in his written staff and the various signs and symbols of musical notation. The last stage of the full realization of his ideal in actual sound, follows, it may be, as an entirely separate, independent exertion of artistic skill. The composer, himself, may be dumb, and even deaf; none the less the true spirit of beauty, arrayed in perfect dress, walks before his internal

eye, distinct, impressive, ravishing mind and heart, as he moves along over these mute, dead forms of ink and paper; yet how expressive to him!

It is most true that these may be characterized as idealized forms of sense; that no artist, no matter however mighty in his art, can possibly create these forms, unless, previously, through his outward senses, the nature and properties of matter, of light, of sound, had been given him. It is the Divine prerogative to furnish matter as well as idea. The Divine Artist can alone create gross matter itself—can alone give mere life in its lower or merely vegetative form, or in its higher or sentient form; he alone can prescribe laws to the spirit, and so determine the forms in which spirit shall reveal itself. Hence, in nature as the work of the Divine Artist, we find a kind of perfection utterly unapproachable by art. The human artist must accept the matter given him, in the several kinds of gross matter, of living and sentient being, and of forms of spirit. There is just so much ground for that low theory of art, which has yet so extensively prevailed—the theory which limits art to a mere process of combining. Not more absurd would be the doctrine that the geometrician, in constructing the diagram of a square upon a black-board, only combines other and smaller figures. But for space, indeed, he could not shape in his mind a square; but for the material surface—the black-board, he could not represent it in a visible form. He has exercised, however, no power of combination, in the sense of taking smaller portions of space, first, and uniting them, and then portions of black-board, and uniting them. He starts with the idea of a square already in his mind, already shaped; he puts that into a mere spacial image, first in his own mind, and then transfers that spacial image to the material surface—to the sensible matter. No genuine work of art was ever a patch-work of combination. No poet, in his artistic processes, ever summoned before him, by an act of reproductive memory, the forms which had been previously given him in his observation and studies, and then set himself to selecting and combining. The artist shapes, he idealizes first; he first deter-

mines his artistic activity in a specific direction, and embodies it in a pure ideal, a proper spirit-form into which enters no matter—nothing audible, nothing visible, no sound, no sight. It is altogether a different process, subsequent in time, remote, it may be, in place, in which he proceeds to embody still further his idea—incorporate his ideal in sound, in words, or in color on the canvas.

The process in art-interpretation is the exact counterpart of this. The gross matter is first presented to us. We may discern, here, certain forms of the revealed idea. Regularity of contour, warmth of hue, delicate curving and color-blending, reveal the spiritual principles of intelligence, affection, and freedom. But through these outer forms, in a landscape the artist may, in the expressive character of his trees and his foliage, reveal to us his idea in fuller degree and correspondingly richer beauty. With admirable art, have two of our American painters, Cole and his pupil Church, revealed moral ideas in forms of mere landscape—of vegetable life. The Flemish school of painters, further, has characterized itself by incorporating in these outer forms of organic and inorganic being, forms, also, of instinctive, sentient life; while in the schools of Italian art, we meet a still higher rank of forms in their master-pieces of historical painting. We can not begin to interpret these magnificent achievements of art, except as we pass on through the outer, more sensible forms of revelation, to seize the spirit-forms in which the artist reveals his idea. How is it possible, thus, to attain the lowest degree of any proper interpretation of Raphael's "*Madonna della Sedia*" without a distinct apprehension of the mother's placid fondness, the purity and elevation of her child, and the reverence of the infant John, together with the other forms of rational sentiment which glow in this revelation.

This distribution of beauty in respect to its matter-forms, so generally recognized, if blindly, grounds itself alone on the theory we have prepared, and confirms its truth.

Proceeding, now, to the distribution of beauty in respect to its remaining element—the revelation of the idea in its matter,

we ought to find here, if our view be correct, that this is the vital, essential element, the higher, more important seat of the various possible divisions of beauty, such as are more distinctive, characteristic, and essential. It is obvious that this element—the revelation itself—may be viewed in three different aspects: 1, The revealing activity may regard more itself—its own procedure in the revelation; 2, It may regard more the tendency and resulting effect of its work; or, 3, It may regard more the relation of the idea to be revealed to the revealing matter. In other words, in a revelation, we may, in our analytic study, fix our eye more on the revealing activity, and, in our interpretation of it, emphasize that; or we may look more at the result and the revealing act as completed, and emphasize that; or, in the third place, we may look more to the idea to be revealed in its relation to the revealing matter, and emphasize that relation in our interpretation: just as in a logical judgment we may view, more exclusively, the judging activity itself, or the judgment as a completed act, or the relation indicated between the terms, the subject and the predicate.

The first of these aspects gives the ground of that important distinction in art, of *artistic* beauty, in which the revealing activity itself predominates, and the coördinate species in which either the idea or the matter rises above this artistic skill or energy—*Ideal* Beauty and *Material* Beauty. The reality of this distinction we meet every where. It may be illustrated in the case of three of our greatest poets. In Spenser, we find proper ideal beauty characteristic. It is in the richness, variety, perfectness, of his idea that we find the charm of his poetry. In Milton, on the other hand, it is material beauty which reigns predominant and characteristic. We are ravished with the luxuriance and expressiveness of his vocabulary, the admirable harmony and melody of his verse-forms, the inexhaustable supply of material, of every kind, at his command for his imagery—inorganic and living, vegetable and animal, human and angelic; the control of all the stores of expression in nature or in art, in literature and science. The

richness of idea is eclipsed by the magnificence and exuberance of its investing matter. In Shakspeare, we admire the proper artistic energy, the marvellous, matchless power of revealing. You may find, elsewhere, greater profusion and elevation of idea, a fuller, more beautiful, vocabulary, and more luxuriant representative imagery, but nowhere such power to grasp idea and matter, and to incorporate the one within the other in such inseparable bonds, in such unalterable relationships. We recognize the same distinctions of beauty in three of the princes of modern German literature. In Schiller, it is the ideal, the thought, the feeling, the character, the spirit, the event; in short, the theme to be revealed, which ever occupies him, which engrosses the reader's mind. In Jean Paul Richter, it is the wonderful richness of his revealing matter—more particularly in his spirit-forms—his proper imagery, that transports us. While in Göthe, we have the artistic idea which plays with idea and matter as with toys, combining them at will, with a most admirable dexterity and skill. In painting, we find the same distinction exemplifying itself. In ideal beauty, in the richness and grandeur of his idea, Michael Angelo reigns conspicuous in art; in material excellence, in his command of outline, we admire, chiefly, Guido Reni; and of color, Titian; while in artistic power—power to reveal given idea in given matter—Raphael easily outranks them all.

The second of these aspects gives us the grand distinction of Free Beauty and Dependent Beauty, as we conceive of the revelation looking only to itself as its end, or aim, or as looking to something ulterior or outside of this. In all revelation of idea, there must be beauty, truth, and grace. Yet we recognize one revelation as beautiful, because the idea is revealed for the sake of its own expression and embodiment; another we recognize as true, because the idea is revealed to be known; a third is good, because it is revealed to impress a result in blessing. Revelation for the form's sake is free beauty; revelation for the idea's sake is the dependent beauty of truth; revelation for the end's sake is the dependent

beauty of goodness. As one or the other of these features predominates, it gives character to the revelation. It is characterized as beautiful, as true, or as good.

The third aspect—the relationship between idea and matter—gives us another familiar but most important distinction of beauty into 1, the proper beautiful, in which idea and form are in perfect harmony and equipoise, and the effect of which is, consequently, ever tranquilizing on the contemplating spirit; 2, the sublime, in which the idea revealed preponderates over the revealing form, and the contemplating mind is consequently disturbed and thrown from its balance, is agitated and awed; and 3, the pretty, *le joli*, the entertaining, the diverting, the merely ornamental, in which, the form overbearing the idea, the contemplating mind is not tranquilized and put in peace, nor disturbed in the agitations of awe, but, contrariwise, is but amused and diverted. These distinctions we find exemplified every where in art, as in familiar species of poetry; the proper beautiful in the Lyric, the sublime in the Tragic or the Epic, the diverting in the Comic and the Burlesque, which so naturally draws into itself all the unreason of human life. In like manner we look for the true exemplification of proper beauty in woman, when spirit shines out in perfect commensurateness with the outward form; of the sublime and heroic, rather, in man, where the expressing spirit transcends the form; and the pretty in childhood, the verdancy of life, when reason is weak and undeveloped, where the form outspans the mind, and the physical leads the spiritual.

This rapid induction, which we have made by running through all the conceivable distinctions of beauty, and which we find ever leading to grounds in that theory of its nature which we have proposed, seems to give to it all the sanctions of correctness and truth which the most rigid processes of empirical investigation can furnish.

To this theory as the final result, the history of æsthetic science shows an unmistakable tendency. In Greece, Plato was strongly inclined to identify beauty with idea; Aris-

totle, with the matter-form; Plotinus, who sought to blend the Platonic philosophy with the Aristotelian, recognizes both elements as essential, but puts the uniting element, which he seems to feel to be the properly vital constituent, in the contemplating mind itself; and so with him it is, at last, only the soul itself that is truly beautiful. In Germany, Baumgarten, the received founder of modern æsthetic science, assumed the Aristotelian or matter side, putting all beauty in the matter, and allowing it being only by and for the sense. The Idealistic school pressed the Platonic to its extreme; and at last, the most recent philosophy comes out in much the same relation to the other schools, as Plotinus to the Grecian: it accepts idea and matter, and their union, as essential, but puts the uniting element in the contemplating mind, and thus makes beauty essentially subjective. Kant, as already stated, puts the uniting element in the Discursive Faculty—the Judgment.

In great Britain, Shaftesbury first appeared emphasizing the idea in beauty; Burke followed in the opposite direction, emphasizing as strongly the matter, beauty, with him, being exclusively for the sense; Allison, in his zeal to correct the errors of these opposite views, laid the foundation for the rejection of all objective reality in beauty; and finally, Lord Jeffrey gives the last phase to British æsthetics—that of pure skepticism. In France, the matter side took the lead in time, and became generally prevalent; the eclecticism of Cousin and his followers, is the new Platonism of philosophy, and merges, by an irresistible tendency in its nature, into absolutism and pantheism.

Such has been the interpretation of beauty by philosophy. It is the matter-form; it is the idea; it is the identification of the two by the contemplating mind; it is a fiction, and has no reality. These are the several schools. That is beautiful which impresses my senses agreeably, says the first; that is beautiful, says the second, in which I recognize an idea; that is beautiful, says the third, in the experience of which my beautiful soul is brought into sympathy with the all-beautiful in

the universe, or my uniting thought exerts its highest prerogative of combining the manifold in one; that is beautiful, no matter what it be, my friend's poetry—to use the very illustration of Lord Jeffrey—my friend's "poetry or his slippers, his acts of bounty or his saddle-horse," that is beautiful around which I can throw some attractive, pleasing association in whatever way. There is one other theory conceivable—the one we have been investigating. It bears the sanction of inductive investigation. It seems to show the errors of other theories, while it is that which harmonizes all that is true in them. Beauty is real; beauty is objective; beauty is not mere matter; beauty is not mere idea; beauty is revelation of idea in matter.

But is all revelation of idea in matter, beauty? Is the dry, bold, theorem of geometry: "The three angles of a triangles are equal to two right angles"—is this revelation of idea, beautiful? If we contemplate, as we may by our power of abstraction, only the idea, the truth revealed, certainly no beauty impresses us. But let us contemplate it as a revelation, uniting in one view the idea and the matter-form in this relation, and a new character invests it. That intelligence which has entered, in its revealing work, infinite, formless, chaotic space, and laid it out in such manner that a truth universal, a truth eternal, shines out brightly and clearly, and then has embodied that truth, so formed, in a body of sound, so apt, so expressive—has it not now robed this revelation in a true attire of beauty? Is the pebble that lies before my feet, which certainly is a revelation of the Mind that created it, is that beautiful? Not, certainly, if we view it as a mere thing of utility, or a cumbrance. But let us, as we may, regard it as a revelation of power, of wisdom, of love—let us read these characters in the locality which it has chosen, in the quiet rest which it maintains, in its internal structure, too—the harmony, order, loving union of its parts, and it then becomes to us a thing of beauty, not by virtue of mere accidental associations which we throw around it, but by virtue of its

own nature as revealed idea. There is more of truth even than of poetry, in the familiar lines of the poet :

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give,
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

Is the false, the vicious, the evil, in revelation—because revealed, embodied, beautiful? In the same sense and to the same extent, no otherwise, no further; as the judgment that affirms somewhat of a nonentity, of a zero in thought, is yet a judgment—comes under the genuine class of the true—of what may be thought. As, in so far as the idea which forms the subject of a judgment deviates from a perfect idea, an idea of God—if you please, a properly Divine idea, the judgment deviates from the true; just so, in so far as the idea that is revealed in beauty deviates from the perfect idea, the revelation deviates from the beautiful. The gradations and transitions from the true to the false, are in perfect analogy to those from the beautiful to the ugly, the right to the wrong. As science considers the false, as well as the true, to be within its scope—as morality includes the wrong and evil as well as the right and good; so, in the same way, does æsthetics, which has Beauty for its object, include the ugly as well as the properly beautiful, or the imperfectly beautiful, as well as that which is perfect.

If this be accepted as the true theory of Beauty, then the relation of philosophy to life will appear to us in a new light and importance. The philosophy of Beauty, of the embodiment of idea in matter, is the true philosophy of life—a philosophy of higher significance, of higher interest, of higher importance, than the abstract science of the real, or of the good—just as the embodiment of the soul in the body is more to us than the nature of the soul or the nature of the body, in themselves; and God incarnate is more to us in his claims upon both our scientific and our practical interest, than the nature of the absolute or the nature of the created matter in which it revealed itself, in their own separate consideration. The science of the Beautiful, not only has a just claim to rank coördinately, on scientific grounds, with that of the True and

that of the Good, but it is the culminating science of this most generic class of sciences—last in its development in the growth of philosophy, but highest and most important every way to us. The three are, indeed, conditional for each other. None can perfect itself but in the perfection of the others. The science of the Beautiful is now called forth by the loud and earnest demands of the others in their present rapid development and progress, as now by its backward, retarded growth holding back its more advanced compeers. Only as this new science shall shed its light, can they hold on their way securely or safely. How, for a single illustration, are the two great questions which are now shaking the philosophical world to its very centre to be settled, except under the ascertained laws, the nature, of the Beautiful, as revelation of idea in matter. The questions: 1, Can the Infinite be brought within the forms of the finite; can the being of a God be demonstrated to us? and 2, Can a verbal revelation, either on the one hand, contain the absolute perfection of the Infinite and the All-perfect, or, on the other, admit the imperfections and limitations of limitable matter? Settle the principles which characterize and govern the Beautiful—the revelation, the embodiment of idea in matter—and philosophy can work out these great problems—not otherwise.

In its practical bearings, the science and study of the Beautiful appear still more significant and attractive. In the realm of the Beautiful are we to find all our models for our shaping spirits. This indispensable condition of true culture in whatever department, from mere manners and civil courtesies, up through all social morality and personal refinement to the modes of our proper religious life, in all productive art also, every where, this indispensable condition and means of culture, we go in vain to seek elsewhere than in the domain of the Beautiful. The chief power of the Gospel is in the revelation of the Godhead in human form. How to study this revelation, and feel this transforming, elevating power, the science of the Beautiful, the science which expounds to us the embodiment of idea in matter-form, must instruct us.

Here, too, we find all the laws, the rules, the method, of all spiritual development. Here must we go to learn what it is to put principle into purpose, and purpose into endeavor, and endeavor into efficient act; to put thought into word, and word into fit organ and instrument to penetrate, and also to command, the recesses of the human soul; to put fond affection into a golden chalice that shall be its own passport to the heart when craving sympathy, and the sure recipient of grateful, confiding response; to put the forth-bringsings of prolific genius into art-forms that shall live and endure for brightening, elevating, and blessing toilsome life; to put, in fine, the human spirit in its unshaped childhood and youth into the mould of the All-perfect, that it may grow up into him in all things. In this field of the Beautiful alone do we find what all this is, and how it is; the rule to guide, and the power to quicken and to enable, in all true, rational culture, in all worthy act, in all proper human life.

ART. IV.—THE VOWS OF SCRIPTURE.

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The distinctive feature of a Scriptural Vow is the voluntary assumption of an extraordinary obligation. Animated with a glowing sense of thankfulness for past mercies, or with fervent desire for some special favor, and on condition of that favor, the worshipper consecrated to God some person, thing, or service, which, otherwise, he would feel under no obligation to render.

Here, however, at the outset, we are met by an apparent exception to this definition in the earliest recorded vow of sacred history. We read of Jacob, that, as he woke from the wonderful vision given him on the rocky waste of Bethel, he "vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come to my father's house in peace; then shall Jehovah be my God, and this stone, that I have set

for a pillar, shall be God's house: and of all that thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto thee." Here the whole language is to be regarded as the expression of the vow, and, at first sight, it would seem to include both ordinary and extraordinary obligations. That promised altar was an extraordinary obligation, which the patriarch assumed; perhaps, in his day, the "tenth" was so considered also, but the promise that "Jehovah should be his God,"—could *that* be considered optional or extraordinary? Was it not a primary and imperative duty, whether he should have God's favor on his way or not? whether he should ever return to his father's house in peace, or perish in his wanderings? Two solutions of this difficulty present themselves. The first is the translation which connects this clause with the previous conditions: "If God will be with me," etc., and "*if* Jehovah will be my God, then this stone," etc. This translation is preferred by many, and is required by the punctuation of the Hebrew Bible before us. It clearly removes all the harshness of the common version.

But if the reading of the common version be retained, it is easily explained by another consideration, which, in any case, ought not to be lost sight of, viz: the probable condition of Jacob's mind, in regard to religious matters, at this time. He was surrounded, on every side, by idolatry—nearly all his kindred were idolaters. He probably knew nothing of religious experience in his own heart. He was an ambitious, scheming, subtle man. He had, just before, shamefully deceived his blind old father, and outrageously wronged his brother. What was still worse, he manifested no penitence for it all. He simply clutched the birth-right and the blessing, and fled for his life from the vengeance of indignant Esau. It was the dark side of that strangely varied character of the famous patriarch. The tenderness and piety, which so hallowed and beautified his later years, had not yet appeared, for Jacob was not yet converted. Under these circumstances, banished by his own wrong-doing from his father's house, a trembling fugitive over the rocky hills of Palestine, doubtful

whether he would ever dare to retrace his steps, perhaps without a thought of God or Providence, overtaken by night upon the heights of Luz, he casts himself upon the ground to sleep away his fatigue, and to forget his "distress," and lo! that vision of a present God and an overruling Providence breaks upon him! He is reminded of the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac. The land on which he lies is promised unto him and to his seed. He is also assured of the Divine protection and favor toward himself, in all his journeyings. What a surprise to the lonely wanderer! How significant every expression of his lips, especially the first one: "Surely Jehovah is in this place, and I knew it not!" Had he then supposed him to be only the tutelary God of Hebron and Beersheba, and not of Luz? Had he been so indifferent to religious matters as not to apprehend the truth that the God of Abraham and Isaac was the only and the omnipresent Deity? We suspect that it was even so. We think that the history of Jacob at this time, and in subsequent references to this event, is best explained on some such supposition, humiliating as it is.

From this point of view, it is obvious that Jacob must have regarded every portion of his vow as an extraordinary obligation. If Jehovah would indeed give him the blessings which he had just promised, then, rejecting all other gods, he would take Jehovah for his God; instead of keeping all his wealth for himself, he would give God the tenth; and on that very spot, he would build an altar to Jehovah. It was, perhaps, the first religious utterance of a worldly and benighted mind, just startled from irreligiosity by God's first manifestation to it. It was the vow of an unconverted man, made in the midst of trouble, and, like many such vows, was poorly kept, for even twenty-eight years afterward that promised altar had not yet been reared at Bethel. It was a vow which we might call, in some of its parts, only the formal recognition of an ordinary duty; but to Jacob's mind everything was new, special and extraordinary. It was strictly a vow—the voluntary assumption of an extraordinary obligation.

After this, we find nowhere in the Scriptures a single instance where the use of the term "vow" can be shown to depart from a strict technical sense. In the Levitical law, Moses established the several meanings and applications of the different vows, and there is no evidence that the literal sense of the words was ever violated. We are persuaded that our familiar use of the term "vow," as applied to baptism, a profession of religion, or any other matters of *established* duty, finds no analogy in the sacred writings. A vow was always an *extraordinary* consecration.

The special legislation of Moses on the subject of vows is given in Leviticus, chap. xxvii, Numbers, chaps. vi and xxx, and Deuteronomy, chap. xxiii. There is no evidence, however, that any kind of vows was *originated* by the Levitical law. It only authorized and defined the proper mode of observing vows with which the people were already familiar. The religions of the earth were full of vows in every period and place of early history. Warriors made vows to their gods for victory, and the sick for their healing. The ancient temple of Belus, in the East, as well as the later shrines of Greece and Rome, in the West, were full of votive offerings. Egypt, from which the Hebrews had just come out, was the land of countless idols and countless vows.

This universal prevalence of vows betokens a certain *fitness* in them to express the religious sense of the human mind. While they are no dictate of natural religion, they are a *natural suggestion of revealed religion*. They are the direct offspring of *sacrifices*, and have followed them in a universal prevalence. In the original appointment of sacrifices and oblations, God gave men the premises from which they easily deduced the fitness of vows. The argument would naturally run into some such shape as this, viz: If God is pleased, in ordinary circumstances, with certain offerings, and if he will bestow certain favors in response to them, why should he not be pleased with extraordinary offerings in extraordinary circumstances? and why should he not bestow corresponding benefits upon his worshipper?

The doctrine of vows also bore a certain converse or reciprocal relation to the doctrine of *covenants*, which God repeatedly made with men. In those covenants, Jehovah condescended to promise certain benefits to man, on condition, generally, of the performance of certain services. In the vow, man volunteered to promise certain consecrations to God, on condition of the bestowal of certain favors.

Prompted and encouraged by some such suggestions as these, it is easy to see how vows came to prevail in every religion that recognized a God willing to be moved by the supplications and oblations of his creatures.

These considerations furnish sufficient explanation why Moses adopted the system of vows into the Hebrew worship. It was not merely a prevailing custom of the nations, but it was closely related to the altars and covenants which God himself had given. All that the great legislator had to do by Divine direction, was simply to take this religious custom (which was drifting among the nations, in the service of superstition and idolatry), put it into proper shape, and seal it with proper sanctions, as a part of the religion of the church of God.

In this respect, as in many others, the Levitical economy was not so much the creation of new ceremonies, as the restoration of things originally given by God, some of them, probably, amid the scenes of the newly-forfeited Paradise, but afterward forgotten or perverted by the race; or, it was the authorization of things already existing in form, but now filled with a Divine significance, and directed to a holy end. There were, indeed, some new ordinances of worship in that Sinaitic code, but there were, also, many that were not new, and among these was the institution of vows.

The custom of vows is one which may easily be run into extravagance and sin. Therefore, while Moses defined and authorized vows, he gave no special encouragement to them. He rather abated any enthusiasm in the matter, by saying: "If thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee." Deut. xxiii, 22.

The question now arises: How far, and on what grounds, can vows be considered acceptable to God?

To some minds, they seem to have a "heathenish savor"—to present the idea of "bargaining with God," and attempting to "bribe him for his assistance." Were they such indeed? Did God barely tolerate them in view of the rude and degraded condition of the Hebrew nation? Were they a part of the "times of ignorance" which "God winked at?" We think not. We believe the Scriptural doctrine of vows deserves a far higher and more honorable position than this.

The fact that God gave them so prominent a place and such minute directions in the Levitical law; the frequent reference to them in the Scriptures, and the frequent observance of them by the best of saints; the jealous regard of God for vows made to him; his punishment of their transgression, and his blessing on their fulfillment—all these betoken more than mere toleration; they proclaim positive approbation and delight.

And this, we think, is the philosophy of the matter. The vow was regarded by God only as the utterance of the soul's earnestness. It was the argument of sincerity and strong desire. When mere words seemed too weak to express the fervid longings of the soul (or, perchance, its ardent gratitude), some special service or costly gift—the consecration of the worshipper's child, or of his own person—might betoken the intensity of his emotions, and be an argument with God. No reflecting mind, either Hebrew or Gentile, would imagine that the Most High *needed* these or any other gifts. David, amid his preparations for the temple, uttered a truth which every pious Israelite, with all his sacrifices and vows, must easily have understood, as well at the foot of Sinai as in later ages of the church: "All things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee." But God does love sincerity and earnestness in his worshippers. He loves the proofs and fruits of them. He loves the voluntary consecrations which his children make to him. And vows, properly understood, were

only a species of free-will offerings, embracing all these elements of acceptability.

May we not add another consideration, viz: God's willingness to draw near to his people, in the closest terms of intercourse? While no idea of Jehovah can be too lofty and reverential, it is yet possible, even, for Christian philosophy to refine and sublimiate its ideas of Deity, until all familiarity is lost in awful distance, and the Father and Friend is entirely eclipsed in the Creator and King. Now God's plan of human worship contemplates altogether a different object. It is to draw men near to him, to establish a hallowed familiarity between heaven and earth, to make man realize the presence, love, faithfulness and providence of God; to call forth living faith, and constant recognition, and ready prayer. To promote these ends, vows subserved a most useful purpose. By means of them, men learned that God would not confine his worshippers to a solitary line of offering and supplication. He would meet the troubled or anxious soul with special grace in its special emergencies; would accept special offerings in return for special favors; and would thus display his condescending sympathy and care for every soul that casts itself upon his love.

In all this, there could be no reasonable implication of *earning* the blessing, any more than in the case of ordinary sacrifices. In the frequent mention of vows in the Psalms, there is many an utterance of humility, and many a shout of gratitude, but never a pretense of merit.

Leaving, now, these general considerations, we proceed to examine some of the principal features of the vows of the Old Testament.

One preliminary condition of any binding vow was probably its formal, vocal utterance. It was not a mere intention or resolution, but a full confession with the mouth unto the Lord; and this was done, generally, in a public manner.

Another preliminary condition was, the right of the person to make a vow. This right did not pertain to wives, or to

unmarried daughters living in their father's house, if the husband or the father disallowed the vow.

A third preliminary condition, had respect to the thing vowed. This must be free of any previous exclusive claim on the part of God. Thus the first born of man and beast, being already devoted to God by the Levitical law, never could be the subject of a vow.

The vows of the Mosaic economy were of three kinds, expressed by three different words in the Hebrew.

1. *Neder*. Here the primary idea is that of setting apart, consecrating. It was a solemn promise voluntarily to give or do something. By this vow a person dedicated to God such a thing as he chose, whether beast, land, house, property of any kind, his child, or himself.

2. Next came the vow called by Moses *Esar* and *Issar*. This was the vow of abstinence. Its primary idea was that of binding, prohibition, interdict. By this vow a person bound himself to abstain from certain things otherwise lawful.

3. The third, and most terrible of vows, was *Cherem*—the vow of utter destruction. By this vow the devoted object (according to the primitive idea of the word *charam*, to shut up) was literally *shut up* to destruction. This vow had proper reference only to the persons or possessions of the enemies of God.

We do not propose to enter into a detailed exposition of all the features of these various vows. This would be both a tedious and unnecessary service, when such ready access may be had to writers on sacred archæology. We shall take the liberty of choosing, here and there, a point particularly interesting to ourselves, and, perhaps, not devoid of similar interest to the reader.

That vow of the *Nazarite*—how strange and how obscure in some of its aspects! The man might mingle with his fellow men, might marry, might possess wealth; but he might not taste any intoxicating drink; he might not eat the fruit of the vine in any shape or part, even to the seeds or skins

of the grape; he might touch no corpse; he might attend no funeral, even of father or mother, brother or sister; and, most remarkable of all, he might not touch a razor to his hair during all the period of his vow—his hair was preëminently sacred unto the Lord. When the days of his vow were ended and he went to the temple, as he must, to make the required offerings unto the Lord, that hair must then be shaven off and put into the fire that was consuming his peace-offering.

It was a vow which was regarded with distinguished honor by the people. If the language of Jeremiah (Lam. iv, 7,) pertains to them, they were accounted "purer than snow and whiter than milk" (perhaps on account of the garments they wore); "more ruddy in body than rubies, and their polishing was of sapphire." They were so holy that even to *offer* them strong drink was accounted a heinous sin, both by God and man (Amos ii, 11). This external sanctity was probably more conspicuous and impressive in some respects in the Nazarite of days, who was such by a voluntary vow and who redeemed his vow at the temple, than in the Nazarite for life, who had been consecrated by his parents, and whose vow never could be redeemed, except by death. It is impossible, however, to speak with any definiteness in regard to the Nazarite for life. No rules in regard to his vow are any where given us. The cases of Samson, and Samuel, and John the Baptist, appear so obscure and exceptional, and have given rise to so many contradictory opinions, that any attempt at positive statement would betoken much less wisdom than folly.

The laws of Moses (Num. vi) have reference only to the temporary Nazarite—or "the Nazarite of days." These days are supposed to have been generally thirty, sometimes sixty or a hundred. We read of one instance, that of Helena, queen of Adiabene, who, when converted from heathenism to the Jewish religion, assumed the vow of a Nazarite for seven years; then, going to Jerusalem, she was informed by the doctors that every such vow taken in a foreign country must be repeated when the person visited the Holy Land. Accordingly she betook herself to another seven years consecration,

near the close of which she contracted some ceremonial defilement, which obliged her to commence her vow anew for another period of seven years. She was thus a Nazarite nearly twenty-one years.

But what could have been the object of this vow of the Nazarite? Possessed of only a partial account of its nature, and still less of its design, the attempted explanations of it have widely differed from each other; and imagination has lavishly endeavored to supply what history has declined to give. Perhaps we shall not greatly err if we suppose that the chief design of this vow was to express a voluntary, personal consecration to God, as distinguished from an obligatory and official consecration. The High Priest was consecrated by law. God demanded it of him. But the consecration of the Nazarite (which strikingly resembled that of the High Priest, Levit. xxi) was entirely voluntary. Probably he devoted himself during the period of his vow exclusively to religious duties, the study of the law, and prayer. In a consecration of only thirty days, no great growth of hair could change his personal appearance, unless we may suppose the hair to be entirely shaven off at the commencement of the vow, as we know it was at its renewal when the vow had been broken, but (as has been intimated already) his garments may have been "whiter than snow," as the symbols of purity. Thus literally separated from the world in his appearance, walk and conversation, and entirely consecrated unto God, he would do, in form at least, what every true believer, both under the Old and New Testaments, ought to do in spirit and in truth: viz., present his "body a living sacrifice unto God, holy and acceptable." And when at last he came to seal and terminate his vow at the altar of God, although he might not offer his person on that altar, yet that *part* of his person which had been the particular token of his consecration—his hair—must be placed upon the altar to be consumed along with the sacrificial lamb. The Nazarite was, therefore, according to this view, a voluntary, living embodiment among the common

people, as the High Priest was in the sacerdotal ranks, of "holiness unto the Lord."

We dwell not upon that dreadful vow of *Cherem*, except to remark that it was one of those forms of retribution on the persons, families and possessions of the wicked which Jehovah either commanded or permitted his people to carry out in his name. It has its analogies and parallels every day in many terrible providences of that great Sovereign, who accomplishes his designs by many instruments and in many ways, who visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, while righteousness and judgment are always the habitation of his throne.

Among the general features of Old Testament vows, nothing impresses the mind more deeply than *the rigor with which God exacted the fulfillment of them*. No evasion, no relaxation, no excuse in any case, was allowed the person who had made a lawful vow. The wife or daughter, whose vow was disallowed by the husband or father, might, indeed, be excused, by reason of the allegiance which they owed to the authority of those relations. But that husband or father must disallow that vow *immediately* upon his hearing it. Then it became an unlawful vow. But if he allowed it to stand, even for a short time, and then undertook to make it void, the woman was indeed excused, but the guilt of the broken vow fell in its full weight upon the man. Beyond this only apparent exception (which is really no exception at all), the proposition stands inflexibly true, that God demanded of every one the most scrupulous fidelity in the fulfillment of vows.

If an animal fit for sacrifice had been vowed, it could not be exchanged for another, even better than itself. "He shall not alter it nor change it, a good for a bad or a bad for a good," was the emphatic language of the law. If he even *attempted* such a change, both beasts were forfeited unto the Lord.

If he vowed that which could not be used for sacrifice, he might redeem it if he chose. But as a *desire* to redeem it, seemed to indicate the appearance of a waning zeal—almost the semblance of regret—it was ordained, that not only should

the priest exact the full estimated value of the object, but also *one-fifth additional*, as a sort of penalty for the desire of redemption.

If a Nazarite, just at the last hour of his consecrated time, should contract, by the merest accident, any ceremonial defilement, all his past strictness counted for nothing. He must shave his head, and commence his vow entirely anew.

Twenty-eight years after Jacob had made his vow in Bethel, God appeared to the negligent patriarch, and demanded the fulfillment of that vow.

But there are instances even more remarkable than these, which evince the sternness of God's demand concerning the fulfillment of vows.

In the case of *Achan*, a victorious army, fresh from the overthrow of Jericho, were defeated and chased from the gates of insignificant Ai, while Joshua and all the hosts of Israel were cast into consternation and almost despair. Why? Because the vow of *cherem* had been pronounced upon Jericho, and one man had secretly broken that vow. One miserable, avaricious wretch in the army had stolen from "the accursed thing" a Babylonish garment, with some silver and gold, and had buried them under his tent. As the fruit of this apparently trivial violation, we have, on the one hand, the defeat of an army with the slaughter of thirty-six innocent men, and, on the other hand, the detection of Achan by a providential lot, the stoning to death of himself, his sons and his daughters, and then his cattle, his possessions, his tents and all that he had are piled up with the corpses, and burned with fire. It was God's terrible exaction of a terrible vow.

Even more remarkable, in some respects, was that rash vow of Saul, when on the day of his battle with the Philistines near Beth-aven, he cursed the man who should eat any food until the evening. Jonathan, who had performed feats of marvellous valor that day at a distance, knew nothing of his father's vow. While in pursuit of the enemy, faint and hungry, he tasted a little honey that fell in his way. Was it a sin? It would surely not seem so to us. Yet, for that violation,

God refused to answer Saul by the Urim and Thummim, the lot was cast, Jonathan was singled out as the guilty one, Saul felt himself obligated to fulfil his vow by slaying his son, and would have done so, had not the whole army risen up to save their favorite, exclaiming, "As the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground." We need not adopt the supposition of Ewald, that the army provided a substitute, who was sacrificed in Jonathan's place. It is enough to say that God, in mercy, allowed the terrible doom to pass by, having sufficiently manifested his jealousy of the broken vow, by suspending all communication with Saul, arresting the triumphant progress of his army, discovering the offender, and allowing the sentence of condemnation to death to be pronounced.

But what shall we say of the instance of that rough bastard and mighty warrior of Gilead, whose rash vow, with its romantic and painful results, has stirred the deepest pity of so many hearts, and enlisted the ingenuity of so many writers, to soften down or explain away the horrid sacrifice of that heroic daughter? We wish we could adopt the views of those writers. We have, sometimes, been "almost persuaded." But, when we returned from their plausible and earnest pleadings to the stern language of the original narrative—when we remembered that no tradition of anything but a "burnt offering" vow, literally fulfilled, is even breathed in all the ancient history of the Jewish church—that not until the twelfth century was any other interpretation ever attempted, when we found so many of the best Biblical critics of our day rejecting the softer view of "perpetual virginity," with all the arguments that Rabbi Kimchi and his followers had built around it; we were constrained to believe, in spite of all our wishes to the contrary, that nothing less than the bloody sacrifice of that daughter would satisfy the story of that vow. It is certainly remarkable that no where is Jephthah reproached for the sacrifice of that only child. In the list of Old Testament worthies, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, his name occurs among the heroes of a victorious faith. Admitting the faith in which he won the

triumphs of his two illustrious campaigns, it would seem to us, that the immolation of that daughter would have blotted out in silence, if not ignominy, every vestige of his name. Can it be that God in anywise sanctioned the fulfillment of such a vow? We dare not answer, *yes*. We are not sure that we may confidently say, *no*. The very circumstance, that God has not openly condemned, in any part of the Scriptures, this blood-chilling deed of Jephthah, is, to say the least, painfully embarrassing to our moral sense. But, amid all the mysterious horror which inspiration leaves upon the scene, this at least is sure, that Jephthah felt himself strictly bound to fulfill that vow. "I have opened my mouth unto the Lord," said he, "and I cannot go back." We are also sure that he did not sacrifice that daughter on the altar of Jehovah, for all such sacrifices were forbidden by the Mosaic laws, and the altar itself was in the tribe of Ephraim, with which Jephthah, about this time, was at war. But Jephthah probably knew very little of Mosaic laws and priestly rites. With his own hand, on the east of Jordan, he offered the dreadful sacrifice. He knew no better. He was an outlaw. Early driven as a bastard from his father's house, he had become the captain of a band of guerrillas in the land of Job. His life had been that of a mountain robber. Only his dreadful prowess had induced the elders of his native Gilead, in their distress, to invite him to lead their forces against the children of Ammon. His faith was simply a faith which trusted in the Jehovah of Israel for victory over Ammon. He speaks of Chemosh as the god of the Ammonites, who had given them their land, with as much seriousness, as he does of "the Lord *our* God." Knowing that the nations around offered human sacrifices to their gods, he did not know that it would be wrong for him to offer that daughter to the Lord in fulfillment of his vow. He felt bound to do it. He knew that a vow was an awfully sacred thing, and he dared not break it at whatever cost. "He did with her according to his vow." He sacrificed his only child, a virgin daughter, and thus cut off entirely his family from the earth. And God has allowed the strict fulfillment of even that

rash and awful vow to stand without comment or rebuke upon the page of revelation.

There is something obscure and perplexing in each of these special instances which we have named, but, to say the least, they seem to *intensify* the import of such passages as these, viz.: "When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it, for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee; and it would be sin in thee." "If a man vow a vow unto the Lord, or swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond, he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth." "When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it, for he hath no pleasure in fools; pay that which thou hast vowed. Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay. Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin, neither say thou before the angel" (i. e., the priest or a messenger of the priest who had supervision of vows) "that it was an error; wherefore should God be angry at thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?" Jealous as the Most High is of the observance of His commandments, He has seemed to manifest even a greater jealousy for the manner in which men fulfill their vows to Him.

We come now to a question which deserves longer discussion than we feel at liberty to give it here, viz.: What is the position of vows under the New Testament dispensation?

There are those who deny that they have any binding force or proper place in the present economy at all. Regarding them as appendages to the altars and ceremonies of a shadowy and preliminary dispensation, they deny their right to obtrude upon the simplicity and spirituality of the New Testament piety.

We have, indeed, no positive rule of any sort, either from Christ or the inspired writers of the New Testament, in regard to vows. The Master makes only a single reference to them, and that was to correct the abuse of those traditionists, who encouraged a son to evade the obligation of supporting his parents by pretending that his property was *corban*—vowed to

the Lord. The only legitimate lesson of this must be that no vow may properly be made in evasion or contravention of the established law of God. He who breaks God's law to make a vow, is guilty of a double sin.

In addition to this, we know that if vows are admissible under the New Testament, they must needs be conformed to the spirit of the Gospel, and therefore the *cherem*—vows of extermination—could scarcely find a place in the present age. Neither would those *peculiar forms* of vows, which existed in an age of sacrifices and ceremonial purifications, be allowable to us.

But, with these qualifications and exceptions, we see no reason why vows may not be as acceptable to God, and, when made, as obligatory on man in our day, as in the days of the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations. The general remarks which we made on the reasons of their ancient acceptability to God, have a large and legitimate application to every age. As expressions of deep sincerity and fervor, they may be the utterance of a Christian's heart no less than a Jew's. As voluntary consecrations of service or wealth, shall they not be acceptable to Him who always loves the proofs and fruits of the heart's desires? It may be said that under the present dispensation, every believer ought to be entirely consecrated to Christ. This is true; yet, not as a general thing, either in present or apostolic times, is this obligation construed in that absolute sense, which leaves it impossible for man to give more or to do more than he is already doing. In ordinary cases, we recognise the right of a Christian to hold and use property for purposes not directly connected with religion in its formal character. God approves diligence and prudence in worldly matters, and rewards them with worldly gain. Every Christian is expected to contribute to the cause of beneficence "according as the Lord has prospered him." But, if under peculiar circumstances he sees fit to dedicate to God *more* than his usual duty, may he not do it, and may he not do it in the form of a vow?

The Apostle Paul regarded vows as still legitimate in his

day. We have the record of two instances, twenty and twenty-five years after he became an apostle, when he assumed what seems to have been the vow of a Nazarite. It may be said that this was a part of the lingering relics of a former dispensation, or that one instance at least (Acts xxi) was in order to propitiate the prejudices of the Jews; but there is no evidence that the other instance was of this sort. At all events the fact still remains, that the great apostle of the Gentiles did regard some vows as lawful, even more than thirty years after Christ had risen from the dead.

We may be reminded that sacrifices, circumcision and the passover also, existed among Christians some time after the death of Christ, although their legitimate work was done, and they were soon obliterated from a dispensation which did not need these "shadows of good things to come," since it had "the very image" of those things. But these ceremonies were all positive institutions, designed for temporary use, and they expired by their own terms of limitation when the Christian age arose. With vows it was different. They were voluntary in their nature—the spontaneous utterances of an earnest heart, and therefore in their very nature no less adapted to present than to former times.

We, therefore, believe that any earnest believer would be fully justified in using that simple form of vow, which, in supplication for special mercies, consecrates to God some service or some wealth to promote the welfare of his cause. The mariner may plead for the safety of his storm-tossed vessel, the merchant for his endangered cargo, the passengers for their imperiled lives; the parent may plead for the restoration of his sick child, the man of business may pray to God for success in trade, and each of these may promise their Heavenly Father a larger service of labor and wealth than they would otherwise feel it their duty to yield. If these things, made in due deliberation, and with a reverential and submissive spirit, be not proper, we confess ourselves unable to say, *why*. We know, at least, that in the experience of living Christians,

such promises to God have been given, such prayers have been answered, and such vows have been paid.

We admit that the system of vows has been horribly abused in the Church of Rome. We know it may be abused by any person who promises that which he has no power or right to perform, or whose spirit is selfish and self-righteous; but such abuse of a thing is no legitimate argument against a proper use of it in a careful, reverential, submissive, trusting spirit.

We therefore close our discussion by referring to two authorities, which are sufficient, so far as human names can go. The Westminster Assembly, in its Confession of Faith, speaks of "religious oaths and *vows*, solemn fastings and thanksgivings upon special occasions, which are in their several times and seasons to be used in an holy and religious manner" (ch. xxi 6). "A vow is of the like nature with a promissory oath, and ought to be made with the like religious care, and to be performed with the like faithfulness. It is not to be made to any creature but to God alone; and that it may be accepted, it is to be made voluntarily, out of faith, and conscience of duty, in way of thankfulness for mercy received, or for the obtaining of what we want; whereby we more strictly bind ourselves to necessary duties, or to other things, so far and so long as they may fitly conduce thereto. No man may vow to do anything forbidden in the word of God, or what would hinder any duty therein commanded, or which is not in his own power, and for the performance whereof he hath no promise or ability from God. In which respects, Popish monastical vows of perpetual single life, professed poverty, and regular obedience, are so far from being degrees of higher perfection, that they are superstitious and sinful snares, in which no Christian may entangle himself." (Confess. ch. xxii, 5, 6, 7. See also Larger Catechism, 108, 113.)

The other authority is John Calvin, who devotes an entire chapter in the fourth book of his Institutes to this subject. Deeply affected by the prevailing errors of Popery on the subject of vows, his principal theme in this chapter is, "The misery of rashly making them," but at the same time he as-

serts the intrinsic lawfulness of vows, and furnishes at length the terms by which this lawfulness may be defined, in order "that they may be supported by the approbation of God."

ART. V.—THE RELATION OF THE WORK OF MISSIONS TO CHRISTIANITY.

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"It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth."

Such were the last words spoken by the risen Saviour to his disciples, as he was ascending from the Mount of Olivet into the cloud which received him out of their sight. They had come together, at his command, to listen to his final instructions concerning his kingdom. From an impulse which was natural to the Jewish mind, though it seems strange and blind in them, when we remember all that the Lord had told them since his resurrection, they had raised the question which, at that thrilling moment, was uppermost in their hearts: "Wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom of Israel?" The reply of Christ, which fell on their ears with all the solemnity of a parting injunction, contained the three-fold significance of a principle, a promise, and a personal duty, by the combined force of which, all their relation to the kingdom which they longed for could be definitely adjusted. The principle was, that it was not appropriate for them to indulge in curious speculation in regard to the times or the seasons which the Father had put in His own power. A distinct foreknowledge of the future growth and final triumph of the kingdom which they were to labor to establish, was among the secrets which God had reserved unto Himself. Its times of delay, and its seasons of fulfillment, were alike to be shrouded from their calculating inspection. But with this principle,

which, uttered by itself might produce an effect of despondency, the Gracious Lord coupled the promise which should compensate them for their disappointment—the promise of power by the descent of the Spirit, through whose sovereign and omnipotent energy they should be qualified to accomplish those greater works of which he had already foretold them, and to endure those distresses which their service must bring. And then, finally, with this principle of concealment as to the times and seasons of triumph, and this promise of power from the throne, the Saviour unfolded before them the duty of their high calling: “Ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.” It was under these terms, that the great commission of the Lord Jesus Christ was most definitely intrusted to his disciples. Left in uncertainty as to the time of success, but sustained by the promised strength of the Spirit, they were to go forth from the centre at which the cross had been planted, and fill the world with the glad tidings. Witnessing to the truth that there was a finished salvation and an open way to the Father through the blood of atonement, they were to march onward, leaving the future to God, and resting all their hopes for success upon the grace which the Holy Ghost would supply.

It is well that our attention should be directed, with special emphasis, to this the last form in which Jesus promulgated his will to his disciples—because these instructions must be regarded as involving the radical and permanent principles of true Christian evangelism for all the ages of time. From that time until now, the Church of Christ has wrought in the world, under this charter, with these limitations, and with these prerogatives. Whatever part of the work originally committed to the disciples is yet unfinished, evidently is to be carried on under these terms, and no others. The word of Christ, “go,” still comes down to his Church like a hurricane, urging it on to this service. Each generation of believers has heard it. Each generation has had some share, however small, in the great onward movement, whose force

acts on us to-day, and constrains us, by our loyalty to the crucified Jesus, to stand in the conscious attitude of assault upon a sin-ruined world. And for us, as for all who have gone before us, the definite terms of this service are presented in these principles of the text. It rises before us, in our nineteenth century, as it has been solemnly commended to the Church at each stage of its history, an imperative duty to be undertaken at the bidding of Christ, for the final and glorious accomplishment of his unfinished work. To make his word of salvation known to the uttermost parts of the earth, relying on the power of the Spirit to insure its success, and leaving the times of fulfillment to the sovereign purpose of God—this we take to be the revealed philosophy of the Lord Jesus Christ concerning the work for which his Church is set in the world.

It certainly affords cause for devout congratulation to all pious hearts, that the age in which we are living has been largely characterized by the consciousness of responsibility in regard to this great commission. No era in the history of the Church has been more distinctly marked than this of modern Missions. The idea that the world is to be converted to Christ, and that the fulfillment of the promise of God depends directly upon the coöperation of human instrumentalities with the Omnipotent Spirit, has changed the whole attitude of the Church in its militant sphere. From step to step the work has advanced until it has become the wonder and glory of the age. Christian enterprise and benevolence have already recognized it as an object which must have its place in the heart of the Church, and the prayers of the saints have enfolded the petition, "Thy kingdom come," with a fervor and longing unparalleled in the eighteen centuries past.

But with the recognition of these facts of encouragement, it is important to connect other signs of the times which have a vital bearing upon the great work of Missions. Not to speak of the unbelieving world, which seems to scoff at the effort to evangelize the nations as though a mere spirit of romantic assurance had taken possession of the churches of Christ, nor of those professed disciples of Christ who stand

aloof from the enterprise from sheer indifference and worldly preoccupation, we are especially impressed, at this time, by the fact that the friends of the Redeemer are themselves in conflict on some points of essential importance. In direct connection with the awakening of this spirit of missions, certain theories of Christianity have been reaffirmed and developed with special zeal, which undermine, at least indirectly, the whole system of effort which the Church has organized for the visible and world-wide triumph of the religion of Christ. It is argued that the enterprise of converting the world, is one which rests upon a mistaken interpretation of Scripture, and is thus, in its nature, unwarranted and delusive. "The present generation of Christians, like all that have preceded it, is simply set in the world to bear witness for Christ and his truth." "To encourage the hope that the Gospel, as now proclaimed in the world, will be the instrument of final success, is simply to feed the church upon unauthorized speculations." "The world is not growing better, but worse, under all human efforts. The darkness around us is not being pierced by the light, but is growing more dense and appalling, and this state of things will continue on to the end. The kingdom of Christ is to be firmly established only at his second coming. The coming of the Lord in all his glory, and the setting up of his kingdom, are to be contemporaneous. When the comparatively small number of the elect shall have been gathered in under this dispensation, then is the sign to appear in the heavens, and the power of Christ, in a new moral system, is to complete what his grace has failed to accomplish in this." True, it is conceded that the gospel is to be preached until the end, but not with expectation or hope of triumphant success. The command of Christ must be obeyed simply as an order of battle, and defeat must be expected until the Son of Man shall appear in the clouds with power and great glory. This is the general form of those theories, which, as we have said, are now undermining the assault of the church on the kingdom of Satan. Leaving out of view those who might be called Millenarians by profession,

and those who, by natural temperament or from some bitter experience, are predisposed to look with distrust on the efforts of human instrumentality, there are, certainly, numbers among the most intelligent and zealous servants of the Lord Jesus, who, in one form or another, have adopted these views, and who honestly regard that work of Missions, which, to us, embodies the very life of the gospel—has the Divine promise of increasing power unto the end, as utterly hopeless, without the personal appearing and agency of Christ.

In attempting to set forth a comprehensive view of the relation of the work of Missions to Christianity, it seems appropriate, therefore, in view of these representations, to turn our thought to that phase of the subject which is thus made the centre of controversy, with the special intent to inquire whether the popular view of our dispensation is founded on the sure Word of God, and whether the Church is engaged in an enterprise which it is possible for her to prosecute with success. It shall be our aim to reach a definite conclusion upon these points, by seeking for the exact relation of the work of Foreign Missions to Christianity in general, and to the present age in particular. To comprehend this matter fully, it will be necessary for us to test these theories to which we have alluded, and to mark the signs of the times which interpret the distinct commands of the Scriptures.

There are three points to be made, which, if distinctly established, will present the whole subject in the clear light of Divine revelation. These are: 1. That the Scriptures instruct us that the world is to be converted to Christ under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, which is now progressing around us; 2. That the work of Foreign Missions is the central principle of this dispensation, the embodiment of its highest idea and intent; 3. That this work is one which the Church of Christ is able to consummate, so far as human agency is required to perform it, with her present resources.

First, then, we are to examine the fundamental position on which the missionary enterprise rests. Are we authorized to conclude that the kingdom of Christ is to be established

under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit which was begun in the effusion of Pentecost, and which is still progressing in these last days of time? If this is the fact, then it is evident that the theories to which we have referred fall at once to the ground, and that those passages of Scripture by which they are supposed to be sustained must receive a spiritual rather than a literal interpretation. That there are doubtful passages which bear on the subject, or passages which seem susceptible of a vague application, no one will deny. The fact that there is honest and long-continued controversy in regard to them, proves it. But in the all-important matter of their interpretation, it seems a fair claim that our first principles should be drawn from those clear and fixed elements of Christianity which stand out in full view, and can not be overlooked without an entire misunderstanding of its purpose as a system of grace. The vast breadth of this subject, and the variety of opinions which are connected with the general theory that the second coming of Christ must precede the setting up of his kingdom on earth, forbids us to attempt more, in this article, than a simple statement of the main points of the argument against it. Let it be noticed then :

(1.) That the Scriptures habitually speak of the atonement and intercession of the Lord Jesus as the ample and permanent ground of man's hope until the covenant of redemption has been realized, while these views do, in effect, deny the power of Christ's cross, and transfer our hope for man to his second coming. The efficiency of the atonement, not only in relation to offended justice, but also in its power to move and melt the human heart, is continually extolled in the Scriptures. The Lamb of God, the anti-type of Israel's altar service, is declared to be the propitiation for the sins of the world. From his cross Jesus expected to draw all men unto him. Christ crucified was preached by the apostles as the power of God unto salvation. His intercession, on the ground of his finished atonement, endureth continually; from one age to another he is to be found at his post, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, until the end. Having appeared once in the end

of the world to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, he is to continue in his unchangeable priesthood until he shall come the second time without sin unto salvation. When his advent occurs, his intercession is done, and the work of redemption is ended. This is the manifest testimony of the Scriptures concerning the sacrifice and mediation of Christ:

(2.) It is as evidently declared to be the work of the Holy Spirit in His sovereignty to apply the truth of Christ for man's regeneration, and to the power of the Spirit no limit has been assigned, but it is affirmed to be equal to any work for which it is sent. Christ taught the disciples that it was expedient for them and for the world that he should go away. The dispensation of that promised spirit was not, in his mind, a temporary device, but rather the grand consummation of his earthly mission. The Holy Ghost was to be the efficient agent in constructing his kingdom. Everything was to be changed at his coming. The temporal aspects of sovereignty which had been formerly associated with the mission of Christ, were to be set aside. The kingdom of God was to be righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. A spiritual change in regeneration was to be the condition of membership; spiritual privileges were to be the reward of the faithful; the weapons of warfare in the new dispensation were to be not carnal but spiritual and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. The old cry of "the Prophet," was to be thenceforth the strength of the church and the hope of the world: "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit saith the Lord of Hosts." The Spirit was to go like the wind, invisible, but mighty and all pervading, revealing the things of Christ to the world and accomplishing the great purposes for which it was sent. Such are the disclosures of Scripture in regard to the animating power of this dispensation, nor is the idea of failure consistent with these representations.

(3.) It is also distinctly affirmed that the kingdom of Christ in its mediatorial character, was truly established at his ascension, and that this kingdom is to continue unchanged till the last judgment. If this statement is sound, then there can be

no reason to look for a visible reign hereafter on the throne of David, in the earthly Jerusalem. And on this point the testimony seems to us clear. At the ascension of Jesus, he is said to have entered in his glory. The apostle Peter affirmed in his sermon at Pentecost, that Christ had been raised first on the throne of David his father, that he was by the right hand of God exalted, made both Lord and Christ, exalted to be a prince and a Saviour. Paul declared of him that he must reign until he hath put all enemies beneath his feet; and John saw him in the heavenly glory as the Lamb slain in the midst of the throne. That this doctrine of the kingship of Christ is clearly declared in our standards, is evident from the words, "Christ executeth the office of a king in subduing us unto himself, in ruling and defending us, and in restraining and conquering all his and our enemies." But with these unequivocal testimonies of Scripture, the theory that the kingdom of Christ is to be really introduced at His second coming, and the occupation of a material throne, is utterly irreconcilable. That kingdom is now in existence, fully established as a spirit-reality, a kingdom, which the apostle declares "cannot be moved," "nor shall the gates of hell prevail against it." Again let it be noticed—

(4.) That it is clearly intimated that the kingdom thus established by Christ is to expand until it extends over the world. The testimony here is abundant: The "heathen are to be given to Christ for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession." "The gospel is to be made known to all nations for the obedience of faith." "The ends of the earth are to remember and turn to the Lord, and all kindreds of the earth shall worship before Him;" and, "the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, are to be given to the people of the saints of the most High." The result thus predicted is also set before us by symbols which convey the idea of growth and gradual extension. The gospel leaven is to work into the lump until all is leavened; the seed sown is to mature slowly unto the harvest; the stone cut

out of the mountain without hands, is to become a great mountain and fill the whole earth. The church is established that it may extend, teaching the nations under the covenant promise, "Lo, I am with you always even to the end of the world." Thus, the first blessings of the kingdom in this dispensation are linked to the sure word of prophecy, to the last glorious triumphs, when the abundance of the sea shall be converted to Christ, and the isles shall wait for his law, and the Gentiles shall come to his light, and kings to the brightness of His rising. But, again—

(5.) It is also taught, as we think, very plainly, that the Church of Christ is to be complete at his second coming; that all means of grace are then to end, and that the last judgment of the quick and the dead is then to occur. Through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth, the Church is to be prepared as a bride adorned for her husband, and he, the heavenly bridegroom, is to come to be glorified in his saints and to be admired in all them that believe. There is to ensue, not the extension of his kingdom over new subjects, and fresh offers of salvation to impenitent sinners, but the final consummation of this earthly state, the abolition of ordinances which were to be kept till he should come, the separation of the just from the unjust, and the unmingled glories or woes of eternity.

Now these are the principles concerning the kingdom of Christ and his coming, which seem to lie firmly imbedded in the Bible, and to be inwrought into the present system of grace. We have stated them without much enlargement, but it is believed that their evidence is established by the sure word of God. If one denies them, the whole scheme becomes incoherent, distorted, irrational. The alternative involves an impeachment of the efficacy of Christ's work of grace, a limitation of the powers of the Spirit, a return of Christ to occupy a material throne, a world-life for the redeemed—in which a baptized Judaism, having its seat on Mount Zion, is established—a world converted by the terror of Christ, and not by his love; in a word, a travesty of that

plan of redemption which was introduced in Pentecostal effusions, and has been advancing to the dominion of the earth from then till now. And all this in face of the direct testimony of God, an arbitrary change in His programme, introduced not of necessity, since that power of the cross and the Spirit which has already accomplished a part is certainly equal to the whole work of redemption. In opposition to a false estimate of Christianity the Church of Christ may safely plant herself on the spiritual idea of the present dispensation, and confide in it as permanent until the Lord comes to judgment.

And now, having sought to establish the truth that the dispensation under which we are living is to witness the final triumphs of Christianity in the world, we would argue,

Second, That the work of Foreign missions comprehends the central principle of this dispensation, and is the most literal expression of its idea and intent. That the missionary enterprise has a positive place in true Christianity, all earnest Christians are now fully agreed. The time was, within the memory of the living, when the question of its inauguration was keenly debated; when the magnitude of the achievement terrified and repelled the disciples of Christ. The time was, and that not long ago, when the first English missionaries to India were saluted, as they set sail, with Sidney Smith's sarcasm, that "they were a handful of maniacs going out to conquer one hundred millions of men." But that time has passed, under the favor of God. Those accents of timidity, or contempt, will not be heard again in the Church. The enterprise has been inaugurated with the purpose to carry it on. It has gained its high place of honor among the different methods of Christian activity, and it will keep what it has gained. But the real question reaches beyond this. Has the work of Foreign Missions yet secured its true place among the plans of evangelism which the Church of Christ carries forward? Can it be said that the true idea of the mission enterprise, as Christ conceived it, and as it is logically related to Christianity, has yet been driven home to the heart of the

Church, or even intellectually accepted by it? One can not doubt that the prevailing theory of Christian evangelism is, that the work for Christ which lies in plain sight should be first finished off by the Church, and that the residue of its strength and the superfluity of its means should be applied to carry the gospel to distant lands. The Church is still too exclusively occupied with the interpretation of the first words of her Lord's command. "Beginning at Jerusalem," is the formula which is supposed to embody her most urgent duty, while the application of her power to the discharge of the whole commission, must be delayed until the Jerusalem in which she dwells is delivered. That the work which lies at our doors is urgent—imperative—no true friend of missions will deny. In every hamlet and city there is something to be done for the glory of Christ, and for the rescue of perishing souls. Each centre of life in our land sends up its Macedonian cry, and at every point which she occupies the Church sees the fields all white for the harvest. But the question is not of wants here or there, but of the policy under which the disciples of Christ are to work for his cause. Is it to be dictated by the selfishness which looks only at the wants of a neighborhood, a section, a country, a continent, or is it to be inspired by the obedience of faith which looks from each centre out to the circumference and bears the whole world up to God? Is the narrow, local or national application of Christian labor more congenial to the appointed work of the Church in this dispensation than the comprehensive and world-wide radiation of her growing strength? That is the question! And with the eye fixed upon the commission of Christ and the conduct of the early disciples, it seems easy to answer it, with the assertion that the work of Foreign Missions embodies the essential life of Christianity, and that its prominence in the mind and heart of the Church will be the surest guaranty of success in building up Christ's cause at home, as well as abroad. To confirm this assertion, let it be noticed :

(1.) That the enterprise of Foreign Missions brings the Church into the closest sympathy with the Lord Jesus Christ,

and into the most implicit obedience to his command. The end of the incarnation of Christ and his death, was to seek and to save that which was lost—to seek by self-sacrifice—to save not for himself. The world was embraced in his loving mercy, and his love for it as a whole was attested by death, even the shameful death of the cross. The burden which he bore in the garden was that of the sins of the world, and the expiation which he offered on Calvary was the equivalent of the guilt of the whole race of Adam. It was, therefore, as the natural expression of Christ's purpose, in the sacrifice of himself, that the comprehensive command burst from his lips, as he was about to ascend to the Father: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Looking from Jerusalem, the centre, out to that circumference which human science has only first discovered in these latter days, he claimed it all as the purchase of his humiliation. He yearned over it all, as needing his redemption; he commended it all to his people as the province into which they were to bear the tidings of pardon and peace by the cross. And so it must be, that the sympathy which flows from the believer's union with Christ must identify him, in some sense, with the most comprehensive intent of the atonement; must interest him, in some measure, in the longing of Jesus to see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied. Wherever the deepest force of that sympathy with the Saviour is felt, there the grandest and most comprehensive views of his kingdom will dwell, and that divine life of Christ in the soul will seek to pour itself forth in streams which shall cover the earth. The field of Christ is the world; and the most Christ-like devotion in man is that which longs to see his glory shining over it all.

(2.) It is also true that the work of Foreign Missions expresses the most intense love for man in his lost moral condition. It is utterly separated from all the considerations of self-interest and self-defense; from all the ideas of local or national advancement, which are so potent in stimulating many of our efforts to promote Christian reform. It is pure heaven-born

philanthropy, as that was first illustrated in the person of Christ. It looks on man, not as a neighbor, or kinsman, or countryman, but as a brother, in the ruin of Adam, in the redemption of Christ. Its principle is the application of the gospel to all races and to all individuals, without reference to any interest but that of the kingdom of God. It is based upon a no less soul-stirring estimate of the condition of the unevangelized races, than that which moved the heart of Dr. John Owen in his sermon before the English Parliament, two hundred years ago: "No man in the world wants help like them that want the gospel; of all distresses, the want of the gospel calls loudest for relief." It appeals, thus, to a pure love for Christ, and to a pure love for man, and it has no other motive. Civilization may follow the stately tread of this enterprise; the blessings of social security may descend on the races by whom Christ is received; the savage may cease to plunder and murder the traveller, commerce may spring up among nations which were once only related in the carnage of war—but these are not the ends for which the work of Missions is carried on. It seeks to save souls, and to hasten the triumph of Christ in the world. It is a spiritual enterprise, which perpetuates the mission of Christ to the lost; which goes with the authority of a Divine revelation to man—as man—desiring, by all means, to save some. And in an organized, persistent attempt to accomplish this end, it belongs to Christian philanthropy to work ever on the world-plan of Christ, to have sympathy with the wants of men unseen, to reach forth help to places from which no plea for help has ever come; to give of thought, and means, and zealous toil, for distant generations; to do this, not by impulse, but by principle; to feel that it belongs to the Church which Jesus has ransomed by his precious blood, and sanctified for his glory, thus to reckon itself indebted to all for his sake.

And this, we claim, must be regarded as the most definite expression of the relation of the Church to the world. Under the commission of Christ, the Church is bound to Jerusalem, or any other political centre, only by the relation of that point

or that country to the whole field; and it is simply an abandonment of her Divine commission for her to make any human patriotism the motive or the end of her evangelism. The apostles, in the first century, soon found that, as Christ's ambassadors, they had something to do at the outer edge of the centre, and before Jerusalem and Judea were converted Paul and Barnabas were preaching in Asia Minor, Greece, and Macedonia. "The world," the whole world, is the command, and the great mission work which aims to direct man to the cross, wherever he dwells, is the real embodiment of the gospel.

(3.) Besides this, we must notice that the growth and enlargement of Christianity, wherever it is established, require that it should reach continually over its boundaries, and act on the nations and races beyond them. Second only to the importance of missions, in their relation to the salvation of souls, is their value in the development of the true life of the Church in defending her noblest energies from decay and corruption. The Church of Christ can be in a healthy condition only when the word of Christ rules in her counsels, and the spirit of Christ directs her activities. The Church can not exist for her own sake; she can not live to herself and prosper. Whenever Christianity is content to be conservative in its trust, stationary amid the passions of men, it is already corrupt, and calls for reform. No matter where the lines of limitation are drawn, around one's own habitation, or around one's own country, if such lines are drawn any where short of the last stronghold of sin in the world, there will be, at that point, a certain decay of the vital energy, which will react upon all other labors. Christianity must speak to Heathendom, because it has superior knowledge, power, grace, and life, which can only abide and increase by being diffused. And it is a matter of determined experience that the degree in which the Church has thus radiated her light and life abroad over the world has always been the sure measure of her spiritual prosperity. From the time when they that were scattered abroad in the persecution which arose about Stephen,

"went every where preaching the word," until the time when the Church in America arose to send her sons and her treasures abroad over the earth, it has been found that the diffusion of grace was the best way to increase it. This is a fixed law of the kingdom. The hand that reaches forth to bless and save those who perish for lack of knowledge, does also, in that way, open the trumpet-stop in the great organ of Christian experience, and then the soul begins to realize the sublimest power of Christian love.

It was in such an estimate of our subject that Dr. Beecher said, twenty years ago, that Christians at the West must exalt the work of Foreign Missions, if they expected to witness the triumphs of the Gospel in that field. And in the same spirit, ten years ago, a Home Missionary in the wilds of Oregon wrote to the East: "Our purpose is to begin to think and feel and act for the world, and then we shall be aroused to act for our country and for ourselves. He who works well in the Gospel must work on the world-plan of the Gospel." That these views are sound is proved by the whole experience of the Church, in that great work of evangelism which has been developing and enlarging, with unprecedented rapidity, from the time when she began to lift the prayer of David: "God be merciful to us and bless us, that thy way may be known upon earth, and thy saving health among all nations."

When we consider the value of the work of Missions in this light only, it is well worth all that it has cost. What could the Church do, now, without that discipline of faith and love, that reflex power, those riches of wisdom and experience, those broad and complete union purposes, which this work has originated? How her stature has expanded, as she has been standing in these latter days with Jesus, on the Mount of Olives, and listening with first consecration to his great command! And how much better is she qualified to match her strength with infidelity and irreligion here at home, by all that she has wrought abroad? This is the true economy of Christian labor. The policy of unreserved consecration, the

widest possible diffusion of the gospel life, intensifies its power at every point it touches, and reflects on every local interest the fervor which runs round the circuit of the globe. The missionary spirit is worth as much at one's own fireside, in one's daily life, as it is worth in its far-reaching influence. It is the normal development of Christian life in the soul, and blesses everything on which it shines. Its progress in the Church is the increase of every Christian grace, the enlargement of every kind of power.

It is in this light, then, that we would view the work of missions, as embodying the essential life of Christianity under this spiritual dispensation, involving for the Church of Christ the deepest sympathy with the purpose of her ascended King, the most unselfish love of man and the most generous culture of her spiritual life. And this view of the enterprise—far in advance, we fear, of that which is now entertained—must come to its true place and dominate the Christian heart. The Church has need to ponder it, and to accept it as the first principle of her aggressive operations. No lower estimate can fully place us in the presence of the great responsibility which our Lord imposes in this present time. The conversion of the world is made the duty of the Church under the dispensation of the Spirit, and it belongs to the Church to day to let the work break through its present limits, and advance as God shall give prosperity.

From these considerations, we may now advance to the last point proposed in this discussion.

Third: That this work of the world's conversion is one which the Church of Christ is fully able to accomplish, so far as human agencies can ever do it, in the present generation. Nothing is more important in any human achievements than the conviction of power to succeed—"Possunt quia posse videntur." The enterprise which is felt by men to be practicable, is the enterprise which they will heartily attempt to accomplish. Doubtless the Lord's work of Missions suffers much in these days from the exaggerated conceptions of magnitude which attach to it in the partial survey which Chris-

tians take of the elements of the problem. But what is in fact the actual scope of this work? As commanded by the Lord Jesus it is the proclamation of the Gospel to every creature by his visible Church. When the preaching of Christ shall become universal, when the light which now shines on a part shall shine on the whole race, then the Church will have obeyed the injunction, and the conditions of final and universal success will have been supplied. We must discriminate between the agencies that are to be engaged in this work. The Church is not commanded to secure the cordial reception of the truth by every creature. On the contrary, the declaration, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned", plainly assumes that, in connection with faithful activity, some will reject the gospel which others receive. But the fact that the work of the Church is simply evangelistic, while it belongs to the power of the Spirit of God to give it success in all parts of the field, makes the specific responsibility of Christians one which can be discharged. The human instrumentality is to be the condition, and the Divine Spirit is to empower and make that effectual. And the teaching of the Scriptures in regard to this combination of forces seems to be this: that when the Gospel has been thus preached to the whole race, so that the mass is thoroughly pervaded with light, then the outpouring of power from on high will take place, which will virtually introduce the triumphs of Christ in the Millennium. It is, then, simply a question of the power of the Church thus to enlighten the world. The factors of the problem are finite, not infinite. The enterprise can be measured; the power of the Church can be tested by manifold standards.

To bring this question of power distinctly before us, let us consider—

(1.) That the whole world is now accessible to the efforts of Christian evangelism. We say the whole world, for the exceptions are now very few. The progress realized in the present half century has been marvellous; more than marvellous, it has been miraculous. When the nineteenth century

opened, heathenism presented an unbroken front to the missionary. The question then was, "Who will receive him; into what land can he enter?" The question now is, "How can we find men to answer the call?" Then, India was hermetically closed up by the policy of the British Government; China would not suffer a Christian teacher to stand on her shores; Africa was still unexplored; Turkey made death the penalty for apostasy; the Christian sects of the East were passive under the sway of their corrupt and ignorant hierarchs; the Isles of the Sea were full of the habitations of cruelty. And all that is now changed. To-day the Christian missionary may sail around the globe, and land where he chooses and preach the glad tidings in safety and with success. The element of the world's inaccessibility has been thus thrown out of the problem since it was first laid before the churches of Christ.

(2.) When we consider the point of development to which the work has now advanced, the magnitude of the problem is still more diminished. With the exception of a few incipient measures the history of this work is confined to the present century. Everything was begun as late as the year 1800. And the work was as the mustard seed, which is the least among seeds, at the beginning. The languages, the customs, the prejudices, the religions of the heathen, were then unknown. There were no institutions of power, no Bibles, no prestige of success; no evidence that the gospel would produce effects among those inert masses. But now Christ is going forth in his spiritual conquests, with a rapidity surpassing all that the founders of the enterprise could have hoped for. The languages of the world have been substantially mastered; the Scriptures have been translated into the tongues of more than two-thirds of the race; centres of light have been kindled upon every meridian; churches have been organized by thousands; and a depth and fervor of piety has been realized in the heathen converts which is not a whit behind that of the most favored churches at home. And from every field on which this work is thus going forward comes, not the cry of discouragement or distrust, but a loud

and thrilling appeal for more men and more means, to reach the vast whitening harvest. Thus the toil of the past has brought the field under the general influence of Christianity, and has proved that it can be effectual anywhere, if earnestly and faithfully applied. Already the Church has laid the foundations on which to build broader and grander achievements. To use a plain figure of speech, we might say that, already the route has been traced, the road-bed heaped up, the grading accomplished, the rails laid in their places, and now it needs only a proper equipment to make the enterprise fully successful.

(3.) In connection with these facts it should also be kept in mind, that the spiritual Church of Christ now holds a trust of wealth and power which is more adequate to such a work than at any time before. It is a simple matter of statistics, that there has been no retrogression in the resources of the Church since the enterprise was first inaugurated. The increase of her membership, including all evangelical denominations in the estimate, has more than kept pace with the increase of population in the nation at large. It is computed that no less than six millions, or 18 per cent., of our people are, by profession, consecrated to the service of Christ; and in all the qualifications essential to the energetic prosecution of the work of missions, there has been undoubted progress. The wealth of the land is largely in the hands of Christians. The influence of the Church is felt in all the public and social enterprises of life. The great Christian ideas of Law and Liberty, have been more and more deeply inwrought into the framework of our institutions; and the Church, as a whole, is more deeply conscious of her responsibility for the discharge of her manifold trusts than ever before. Whatever may be affirmed of the deficiency of a true, unreserved consecration to the interests of Christ's kingdom at home and abroad, it must, at least, be acknowledged that in all that pertains to the possession of power for aggressive effort, the Church of Christ stands now in a better position

for great attempts and great achievements than at any time in her previous history.

Now, with these facts before us, the world's accessibility, the progress which the work has already made, and the increasing power, wealth and influence of the Church of Christ, we may venture to answer the question in which this discussion culminates: "Is the Church able, in the present generation, to make the gospel known to the whole world, according to her Lord's command?" Assuming that the unevangelized populations of the globe amount to one thousand millions, and that access to these should continue to open for the next twenty years, as rapidly as has been the case during the same time in the past, what amount of Christian effort would be needed to bring them all under the enlightening influence of the gospel? If we concede that the efforts of a single missionary would suffice in twenty years to bear the glad tidings to ten thousand souls, which is certainly a moderate estimate of labor, it would need only the sending forth of one hundred thousand to reach the populations of the globe; and if we allow an annual expense of \$500 to each one of these missionaries, it would require only the sum of \$50,000,000 every year. That is to say, an offering in men equal to the patriotic army which marched with General Sherman from Atlanta to the sea, and an offering in money equal to one-quarter of the interest of our national debt, would suffice to do the work. Is this estimate one which reaches beyond the power of the evangelical Christians of America? Leaving out of view the efforts and resources of the Church in other lands, is there lack of ability among us, in this land, to accomplish as much as this for Christ? Why, it is only that one out of sixty of Christ's professed disciples be devoted to this work. It is only that a tithe of the superfluous expenditures of the Church of God should be cast into the treasury of Missions. Will any warm Christian heart call in question the claim of the Lord Jesus to so much of effort and money from his ransomed Church for such an end, the very end for which the Church is organized and set among the nations? Or can any one

question that if the work were once undertaken upon such a scale, it would be speedily accomplished? Have we not been taught, by our national experience, the amazing power which lies undeveloped in a nation like our own, until some great emergency arises, and a deep enthusiasm stirs the souls of men to attempt achievements which were utterly impossible without such devotion? And is it extravagant to entertain the thought that a devotion to the cause of Christ like that which saved the nation from the power of the destroyer, would be speedily rewarded with successes which would bring the latter day of glory down upon the earth?

It is, then, the solemn, thrilling truth that the Church of Christ, in the present generation, has the power to impart the gospel of salvation to the world. There are means enough and men enough at her command; all that is really needed is the burning heart, the earnest will, the obedient trust in God.

It is in the light of such facts as these, that we must contemplate our former efforts in this cause, and readjust ourselves to the increasing responsibilities of our age.

Our record in the past has not been grand. The great results accomplished have been gained by very slight expenditures. It was remarked by Secretary Treat, in his address at Rochester, that the whole sum received by the American Board for fifty-seven years would not suffice to lay more than half a double track railroad from Albany to Boston. We have in the field but 140 missionaries to 4,000 churches coöperating in this work, while the Moravians send one-fifteenth of their entire number, and the Reformed Church of Scotland sends one-seventh of her ministry to preach the gospel to the heathen.

Surely, as a Church, we need a new estimate of our duty in this world-wide evangelism.

This land of ours which God has rescued with a mighty arm, is set among the nations for grand achievements in the coming years. Ourselves the product of this work of Missions, the last matured fruit of Christianity on earth, we must

begin to look upon the world which perishes in ignorance of Christ, as solemnly entrusted to our charge. Have we received the Gospel freely, and shall we refuse to give? Shall we turn from those ripened fields, on which the ministers of Christ are fainting now with overwork, and decline to send new laborers? Shall we put out the lights now shining in the dark places of the earth, to heap up treasures to ourselves? It can not be. We rejoice, on the contrary, that as there are manifold signs that God, by his Providence, is now preparing for more distinguished triumphs of the Gospel than the world has ever seen, so there are, also, signs that his Church is waking to a new sense of her responsibility, to a new fervor in obeying the Saviour's last command.

We believe the day is near when this work of Christian love shall sway the affections of the Church; not conflicting with any other claims, but recognized as the all-comprehending, the universal interest, to which all hearts should turn, for which all voices should implore success.

And as it grows upon the affections of the Church, so will the tokens of the dawning day spread far and wide. Christ will come nearer to his Church with each increase of effort. God's hand will shake the nations mightily as Zion rises to put on her strength, and then, with a swift answer to the earnest intercession of a consecrated and united Church, He who has been waiting long to hear it, will come forth from his royal chambers, to greet the waiting Bride, and satisfy the longings of the nations!

"Even so come, Lord Jesus—come quickly."

ART VI.—ANCIENT LIBERTY AND MODERN LIBERTY.

BY EDOUARD LABOULAYE, Member of the Institute.

Translated by Hon. Joseph Howland, Matteawan, N. Y.

To study politics, or the science of government, we must go back to the Greeks. They are our masters, whether we have derived our ideas from the original source, or received them through the Romans, who, in political philosophy as in every other doctrine, invented nothing. The East was the seat of vast empires, but these great monarchies were only political and religious despotisms. Except in China, it does not appear that anything was written under these governments. The reason for this is simple. On the one hand, it is difficult to collect general rules and to build up a system in the case of a nation ruled by the caprice of a single master; and, on the other hand, it is not easy to form a just estimate of an absolute power. Despotism loves silence above all else; even eulogy disturbs it; light terrifies it; if discussed its fate is sealed.

The case was entirely different in Greece. In that country, divided among so many different peoples and governments, the attention of philosophers was early directed towards society the State and its laws. A democracy as unstable in character as that of Athens, a city which was the theatre of a constant succession of revolutions, furnished a study which impressed itself forcibly upon all reflecting minds. Though the country was small, its experience was great. Athens soon exhausted all the forms of liberty. Its history set forth in glaring light the vices of a factious ambition; it was easy to recognize in the convulsions of the republic that natural law which draws order out of anarchy, and causes tyranny to follow the license of a people whom the flattery of demagogues has intoxicated.

Of all those who have made politics a study Aristotle is the wisest and most profound; neither Machiavelli nor Montesquieu equals him. Many philosophers and theologians may prefer Plato to his disciple; the writer will not criticize their opinion; he is far from intending to settle a question which

will give occupation to our latest posterity; but as to politics, it seems to him that the case has been decided without appeal. Plato, that "poète décousu," as Montaigne calls him, is an admirable moralist. Notwithstanding the oddity of certain notions, the "Republic and the Laws" will always be read with pleasure. But if Plato inspires us with a love of justice, he teaches us very little about the science of government. Aristotle, on the contrary, describes what was before his eyes: The study and comparison of free constitutions enable him to discover rules which have not grown old, natural laws which have not changed any more than has humanity. He does not imagine an ideal; he writes a history. Aristotle is a modern; the field of observation has become greater, the method has not changed.

As the result of all his comparisons and observations, Aristotle describes a model State, a perfect government. What is this State? It is something which at the present time does not correspond with either our necessities or our ideas. It is evident that all the conditions of liberty have changed; the meaning of the very word liberty is not the same with us as it was with the ancients. Rousseau and Mably completely lost their way because they did not make this distinction; and their unskillful and fanatical disciples have made us pay dearly for the error of their masters. In politics, as in the arts, the study of antiquity will always be of use, but its imitation will ever be puerile and dangerous.

Among the Greeks, (Aristotle considers all other nations as barbarous,) society was divided into free men and slaves. The latter were only living machines, domestic animals. The law did not know them.

Among the free men the legislator and the politician took note only of those who did not support themselves by manual labor, and who could, consequently, devote themselves wholly to public affairs. An artisan, in Aristotle's eyes, was only a slave under another name; he served the public; under a perfect republic a workman ought never to be made a citi-

zen.* In the men of leisure and of fortune, who lived upon their rents and the labors of their slaves, we have the active element of the city. The rest were made to obey. The most democratic of the Greek republics was nothing more than a close aristocracy. This people, composed of privileged persons, was sovereign; it enacted laws, made peace and declared war, appointed generals and magistrates, and, on occasion, removed and tried them. All power proceeded from the people, and returned to the people. This sovereignty, the scene of whose exercise was the public square, was what Aristotle and the Greeks called liberty. To be free in Athens meant to be a member of the sovereign body.

Such is the general conception of the Greek republics. The same idea ruled at Rome, with this difference, that, in the good days of the Scipios, the patrician order and the nobility possessed a degree of power of which Athens had no knowledge. When Cicero wrote his "Republic," and placed in the past the ideal of Roman grandeur and liberty, he merely copied from Polybius and combined Aristotle and Plato. The Romans were far greater administrators than the Greeks; they carried to much higher perfection the art of governing and of assimilating to themselves the nations they conquered; but their notion of liberty was the same: the theory had made no advance.

From this principle, that liberty is sovereignty, and that royalty resides in the people, proceeds a mass of usages and laws which, at first sight, astonish us, yet which are easily explained. It was not logic that the ancients lacked.

If there is a single truth confirmed by experience, it is that a king does not belong to himself; he is made for the State which he governs. His religion, education, ideas and fortune are matters of public interest, with which modern constitutions concern themselves.

Carry back this principle to Athens, remember that the *prince* is the whole body of citizens, and it will be no matter

* Polit., III. ch. iii.

of surprise that the religion, education, and even the right to own property, of the most humble Athenian was regulated by law,

Thence the strange spectacle of a people at once very free and greatly enslaved; free even to sovereignty, enslaved in regard to religion, education and life. Sparta deemed herself free, but was simply a convent of soldiers.

Antiquity never rose above this conception: neither the Greeks nor the Romans could have understood our theory of individual rights. In their view the citizen was made for the State, not the State for the citizen.* The notion of particular interests distinct from the general interest would have been a heresy at Athens as at Rome. As a member of the sovereign the citizen bore all the burdens, and was subject to all the duties, of sovereignty.

The smallness of the Greek cities diminished the danger of this system and made apparent only its greatness. This was clearly seen and was well expressed by Benjamin Constant: "The part which in antiquity each one took in the national sovereignty was not, as it is in our time, an abstract assumption. The will of each had a real influence. The exercise of this will was an oft-recurring and lively satisfaction. Consequently the ancients were disposed to make many sacrifices in order to preserve their political rights and to retain their share in the administration of the State. Each citizen, having a proud appreciation of the value of his suffrage, found ample compensation in the consciousness of his personal importance."†

To be alternately, and sometimes at once, governing and governed, sovereign and subject—such was the ideal of ancient liberty. And this explains why in the history of the Greeks and Romans there were often passages, without transition periods, from complete liberty to utter servitude. It sufficed, in order to the immediate establishment of despotism, that a

* Aristotle, *Polit.*, I, ch. ii.

† *De la Liberté des anciens comparée à celle des modernes*, Cours de politique constit., t. ii, p. 547. Paris, 1861.

tyrant should seize hold of power; the only guaranty of the liberty of the citizen was his part in the sovereignty.

The case of Rome affords proof of this curious fact. At Rome the citizen was a king, so completely was he surrounded by privileges of all kinds. Individual liberty was never more efficiently guaranteed. The Valerian laws were genuine acts of *habeas corpus*; the *custodia libera* made impossible all preventive imprisonment; the tribunes, sacred and inviolable personages, were always ready to protect any citizen who felt his liberty endangered; juries, *judices jurati*, pronounced judgment in all criminal cases; finally, voluntary exile removed an accused person from all popular vengeance, and was equivalent to capital punishment in political cases. Cicero was able to render an act of justice to the old Romans in declaring that no other people had at once laws and punishments so mild. But we must not be led into error: these liberties were but the privileges of sovereignty.

From the hour when Sylla seized upon the supreme power tyranny entered Rome never again to depart. The tribunes reduced to silence, the *comitia* overawed, seduced or suppressed, there was no longer any room for aught but servitude, and such servitude! It does not even appear that the ancients contended with the master of the world for what appear to us, at this time, the most sacred rights of the individual; by these we mean the rights of conscience, knowledge and labor. Religion, education, literature, commerce, industry—all passed into the hands of the emperor when the people, voluntarily or not, yielded up their sovereignty to the Cæsars. Neither Trajan nor Marcus Aurelius doubted an instant that their power was boundless. They governed in the name of the people: to assume to fix a limit to this absolute power was high treason.

If Jesus Christ had not appeared upon the earth, we know not how the world would have resisted the despotism which was stifling it. The writer does not speak here as a Christian; he sets aside every religious question, and is only a historian. It is in this quality that he affirms that in politics,

as well as in morality and philosophy, the Gospel has regenerated the souls of men. It is with good reason that we date from the Christian era for a new society, proceeded from the Gospel.

Not that at first sight the Gospel appears calculated to produce a change in the science of government. "My kingdom is not of this world;" "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," said Jesus Christ and Paul adds: "Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor."* Obedience to established power is the law of the Gospel.

But when Christ adds, "Render unto God the things that are God's" he proclaims a new principle at variance with all the ideas of antiquity. Among the ancients the gods were attached to the walls of the city and existed only by the permission of the Senate or of Cæsar. To proclaim that God had rights was to destroy the unity of despotism. We have here the germ of the revolution which separates the world of antiquity from the world of modern times. Rousseau perceived how the case stood, but only to complain of it;† he gravely proposes to us the example of Hobbes, "the only thinker who has clearly seen the evil and its remedy, and has dared to propose a reünion of the two heads of the eagle and the restoration of all things to political unity, without which neither State nor government can ever be well constituted."‡ Agreeing with Rousseau as to the fact, we deduce from it entirely different consequences. It was the sovereignty of God which forever destroyed the tyranny of the Cæsars. This sovereignty being once recognized, there existed duties, and consequently rights, for all immortal souls—rights and duties independent of the State and over which the prince had no authority. Conscience was enfranchised; the individual began to exist.

* Romans, xiii.

† *Contrat Social*, liv. IV, ch. viii. "Jesus came to establish upon earth a spiritual kingdom: which, separating the theological system from the political system, destroyed the unity of the State, and caused the intestine divisions which have never ceased to agitate the Christian nations."

‡ *Contrat Social*, liv. IV, ch. viii.

Were it merely that worship had been emancipated, a revolution would have taken place ; but the words of Christ have an entirely different bearing. The ancient forms of worship were but vain ceremonies, while Christian worship, on the contrary, includes a morality which embraces the whole life. Saint Paul thus expounds to us the thought of Christ :*

"Owe no man anything, but to love one another : for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law."

"For this, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not covet ; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."....."Love is the fulfilling of the law."

Immediately after the advent of the Gospel we find ourselves in presence of two political conceptions ; on one side is the ancient theory which accepted sovereignty for liberty : under this system the State is one, the city everything, the citizen king, and man nothing. On the other side is the new idea, which gives the first place to conscience or the individual, the system which limits the part of the State to a mission of justice and peace, and which converts political sovereignty into a guaranty for individual rights. In the pagan system sovereignty was absolute and unlimited ; in the Christian system it is carefully bounded and is under the obligation of fixed duties. There is a sphere into which it can not enter : it has no authority over the souls of men.

From the times of the Apostles there has been a continual conflict between these two ideas, one pagan and the other Christian ; it is taking place in the minds of men at this day, and the evidence of it consequently exists in our institutions. Most of our modern systems of government, and not the least celebrated, are still infected with the old leaven of antiquity.

Three centuries of conflict were required to infuse the new idea into men's minds ; this was the epoch of the martyrs, the heroic age of Christianity. The martyrs did not concern

* Romans, xlii, 8.

themselves with civil government any more than did the apostles; they were even convinced that there was no place for them in pagan society, and that the fall of the Empire would signal the end of the world and the coming of Anti christ. They were none the less the forerunners of modern liberty. It was upon the field of religion and conscience that they made their resistance; all they demanded was the right to worship in peace God as revealed in the Gospel; but faith includes the whole moral life; the institutions of a people are always connected with its religion. If India has never been able to rise above a government of caste, if the Arabic east has found escape from despotism impossible, it is because these nations are debased by their respective systems of belief. Modern liberty is to be found only among Christians, because Christianity alone separates religion from politics and distinguishes between the believer and the citizen.

Let us ask what was the occasion of this conflict, and how did it happen that, in an age of universal skepticism, the Romans, who were so tolerant toward all forms of superstition, should have declared war to the death against Christianity? The speech of Mæcenas to Augustus, as reported by Dion Cassius,* proves that from the very first, even before the introduction of Christianity, the emperors felt the necessity of governing the human soul in its entirety; this was the price of the security of despotism.

"Honor the gods every where and on all occasions, conforming to the established local rites, and oblige others to follow thy example. Hold innovators in detestation and punish them, not only on account of the gods, but because the introduction of new gods is always followed by that of foreign habits and customs. Hence result associations, brotherhoods, conventicles—things which have no proper place in a monarchy. Do not tolerate atheists, nor diviners, who by their falsehoods favor novelties; and beware of philosophers, for they are quite as bad."

There is nothing singular in the fear Mæcenas had of phi-

* Dion Cassius, lii, 36.

losophers ; they represented freedom of opinion ; they were the Press of those times. A prefect of the city, a man who desired order at any cost, could hardly have any taste for that agitation of the mind which precedes agitation in all other forms. He required silence and the repose of death. But, which is strange, in the matter of religion, Cicero speaks like Mæcenas, Trajan like Cicero. The idea that every man has a right to worship God in his own way never entered their minds. Let him believe in his heart what he liked, it was no one's business ; impiety was even fashionable ; but there was a public worship which was part of the institutions of the land : he who did not respect the gods of the country, the official deities, was an atheist.

We have thus an explanation of one of the saddest facts in history, the persecution of the Christians. With the exception of Nero, the princes who sent the Christians to martyrdom were great men, able administrators, grave statesmen—such as Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Decius, Diocletian ; the bad princes were tolerant, that is to say, indifferent. Commodus had Christians about his presence ; Heliogabalus did them no harm. The emperors whose sole object was their own pleasure, let the administration of affairs alone. The empire was, in their eyes, but a life—profession ; those who cared more for Roman greatness, dreamed of a return of the past. What they longed for was the restoration of an impossible unity. In their view, Christians were atheists and enemies—a double reproach, in which politics had more place than hatred, whatever the apologists may say. In the eyes of the old Romans, the Christians were atheists because they did not worship the national gods ; enemies because they were dealing a death-blow to the imperial and pagan system. The light in which they regarded them was a correct one ; the injustice lay in attempting to reduce by fire and sword men who, after all, were only claiming their liberties. Conscience could not yield ; it was for the empire to become transformed. On one side was interest ; on the other side was right.

In this struggle between force and conscience, between state policy and faith, I know of nothing finer than the courage of the martyrs. There is nothing more glorious in antiquity. To die as did Cato, in order that he might avoid the sight of a conqueror, is an example of heroic despair; to die in order not to offend God and fail in truth is something greater—it is holiness.

To this holiness we owe our modern liberty. There are recollections conveyed by this fact which can not be effaced. However great, at a later day, became the ambition of the Popes, and the faults which this ambition led them to commit, Christian Rome has never been able to contest its origin. The palaces of the Popes have replaced the palaces of the Cæsars, the Vatican speaks of the Church of power; but beneath this splendid edifice are the catacombs, which speak of liberty.

When an idea is true, it takes possession of men's souls, and always ends by triumphing. Political systems destroy men, but the blood of the martyrs is the seed of believers; little by little passions wear themselves out, interests change, the idea takes possession of and conquers even its enemies. A moment arrives at which the attacking force becomes equal to the resisting force, and is ready to bear it down.

In the affairs of the world clever men seize this moment of indecision. This is what Constantine did. He was not a Christian, he adhered to more than one pagan superstition; but he felt that the Christian party, thrown in the balance, was able to give him an empire. He placed himself at the head of the innovators, and became the master of the world.

After the victory, what proved to be his policy? This policy, which continues to the present day to find admirers, was to put an end to the necessary divorce of conscience and the State. Constantine desired not only to bestow upon the Christians peace, in securing to them liberty, which would have been admirable, he also sought to reëstablish the unity of the government by making the Church an integral part of the structure of the empire, and unfortunately he succeeded.

Constantine, or rather the emperor, was, at that time, a sort of religious Janus, a character having two faces, the one turned toward the past, the other toward the future. High priest of the pagans, publicly bishop and protector of the Christians, umpire between two societies, and managing and ruling both, striving to preserve the balance between the worn-out lie and the new truth, Constantine established that intimate alliance between the Church and the State which was the great error of the middle ages, for it was an alliance between fleeting, changing, miserable interests, and eternal rights in respect to which there can be no compromise.

The effect of this compact was disastrous. The bishops having become functionaries and religion the law of the State, the movement in men's minds ceased; the Greek Church became petrified the day of her marriage to Constantine. She turned to stone within those human arms. Once constituted after the imperial and pagan plan, Christian society remained stationary, and for societies, as for men, not to grow is to die.

The empire fell by reason of its own decrepitude when it was invaded by the Barbarians. These red-haired men, odorous of garlic and tallow, and who knew no higher pleasures than battle and pillage, brought into the affrighted world a new principle which accorded, in more than one respect, with Christianity, and this accounts for the favor with which, from the very first, the Church regarded the Germans. They were powerful allies and docile scholars which fortune had given it.

These Barbarians knew nothing of the State, even cities were distasteful to them; they regarded them as wolf-traps, *busta ferarum*. They knew only the individual. Among the Greeks and the Romans the city was sovereign; among the Germans, man; every one was king in his own domain and in his own house.

This was indeed a wild sort of liberty, whose end could be only anarchy; but there was a germ of independence in this disorder, a force and an individual energy which the ancient world never knew.

The Barbarians, as long as they remained pagan, changed but little. The Germans of Tacitus are like those described by Cæsar. The Franks of Ammianus Marcellinus recall the Cherusci of Tacitus. Christianity transformed them; conquest, in placing at their command the resources of an old civilization, completed the change. Corruption, in its union with barbarism, was rendered only more hideous; but this refined corruption was the vice of the great; the germ of Christianity took root among the people, who unhesitatingly entered the service of the Church. Thus commenced, in the midst of darkness and disorder, a new civilization.

Hence it is that there are two ways of judging the Barbarians. If we consider only that which they destroyed, the ruin of art and wealth, we are terrified at their brutality; if we regard the solid qualities they brought with them, their courage, independence, honor, we perceive that the future belonged to them. They were as a vase which comes from the mould covered with dust and dross, but which the connoisseur recognizes at once as a master-piece, almost regretting that by the chisel of the finisher any of the originality of the first rough cast should be destroyed.

Once masters of the empire, the Barbarians organized the sovereignty after their own fashion; rather, they destroyed it in order to replace it by the idea of property. Liberty for them consisted in landed possessions; independence and power belonged to the ownership of domain. Hence resulted the feudal system—a system which may be condemned or praised according to the point from which it is regarded. If we consider only the owners of land—churches, universities, feudal barons, communities, corporations—we find every where a degree of liberty of action which we might well covet now; if we consider only those who were not land-owners—the serfs and villeins—we find oppression and misery without measure. If we look for the State, it is in fragments; for the nation, it no longer exists. But if this system, which flourished with greatest splendor in the thirteenth century, appears

to us justly odious for the manner in which it bore upon our ancestors ; yet we must remember that it contained germs of good which our kings destroyed and which have been to the English the origin of all their liberties. In England abuses were gradually reformed ; the oppressed classes have been raised to the rank and privileges of nobility ; with us there was a violent return to the principles of antiquity—the whole edifice was destroyed from the foundation, overthrown and leveled to the ground. The old theory of the unity of the State reappeared in France at an early day ; from the time of Philip the Fair the legists have been traveling to Bologna in search of the traditions of the *Lex regia* and absolute sovereignty.

How was it that these imperial, and especially pagan, traditions again asserted themselves ? It was by the Church taking possession of the Roman heritage. Unity was dear to it, and was to it the condition of truth. The Church aimed at the replacing of the old Empire by the unity of faith and providing for all Christians a common country—Christianity itself. The idea of establishing the City of God upon earth was not wanting in grandeur, and was held by many noble spirits. The Church spared no means in order to civilize the Germans. The canon law blended together Roman, German and Christian ideas : it was an excellent work. It would be ungrateful and childish to deny that the Church elevated and civilized the modern nations ; but the error of the popes consisted in seeking a model in the past and in resuscitating the political system of the Cæsars. Not content with preserving in their dioceses the framework of the Roman administration, they imagined, and the Church agreed with them, that the duty of protecting and upholding the truth belonged to the material power. In place of accepting the gospel idea of unity, as the natural harmony of souls drawn to each other by the same faith and the same love, the Church sought to establish uniformity according to the imperial and pagan system, by decreeing truth in the form of law, by councils, and by enforcing respect by means of physical power and the sword of the executioner.

This conception of truth, this desire to form Christian society after the model of the Roman empire, explains the mistakes, the miseries and the impotence of the Middle Ages. Convinced that it alone possessed absolute truth, and that this truth was a law which only the most abandoned could disown or violate, the Church put a sudden stop to the progress of human thought. It took possession of science as well as of dogma, aiming at once to establish in men's souls the authority of an unquestioned faith, and to hold human reason within bounds beyond which it should never pass.

Thus it was that the Bible and Aristotle became supreme law to men's minds. Everything was fixed, and fixed forever—dogma and science. Everything might be explained; nothing might be changed. And here we have the reason why all the theology and all the philosophy of the Middle Ages is reducible to the form of the syllogism. Truth, as presented by the Bible or by Aristotle, is an infallible major premise from which we may only draw the necessary conclusion.

This, indeed, is not the liberty which the Gospel promises; we find no trace here of the affecting parable which bids us wait for the harvest before separating the tares from the wheat. No more is it the teaching of Aristotle—of him whose intellect was the vastest and most penetrating which the world has ever known. He would doubtless have disowned disciples who adored even his faults. It was not for the master of science to enslave the human mind. This strange transformation came from the false conception which, regarding truth as law, at the same time made it fixed and unalterable.

The doctor, or, to give him his title, the angel of this school, is Saint Thomas. It is not possible to study this powerful logician without admiring his patience, force and untiring labor; but it is too apparent that the ultimate result of all his science is immobility, and of all his politics the sovereignty of the pope, ruler of conscience and of human thought—in truth, absolute ruler of Christianity.

From the twelfth to the fifteenth century the legists of Bologna readopted, with the Roman law, the imperial theory, but no longer for the benefit of the papacy. Saint Thomas assigned all power to the vicar of Jesus Christ in virtue of his spiritual supremacy. Dante, the philosopher of the other school, in his famous treatise *De Monarchia*, gave it all to the emperor, in virtue of his temporal superiority. One God, one law, one emperor, was his motto. At bottom it was the doc-

trine of Saint Thomas, but turned to the profit of another master. On neither side, unquestionably, was there any claim for despotic rule; the claim was for supreme jurisdiction; but the difference is verbal rather than real. In both cases we have humanity condemned to a blind obedience with thought confined within impassable bounds. The contest was between the emperor and the pope, between two great ambitions contending for the dominion of the world; liberty gained nothing, unless it were the opportunity of drawing breath: the success of either of its rivals would have stifled its life.

In returning to the ideas of antiquity, the Renaissance, doubtless, contributed to the emancipation of the human mind. It was not in vain that science and letters gained their independence, acquiring new vitality at the purest sources; but it is questionable whether the Renaissance was of much service to the cause of liberty. It coincides with the existence of the great monarchies which bestowed a benefit on the people in the form of national unity and an evil in the shape of administrative despotism. Machiavelli is the philosopher of this school, and in the Prince, we have the last expression of his philosophy. Politics had been subordinate to religion; Machiavelli freed them from the influence of both religion and morality, and made everything depend on cleverness. This sad conclusion has alarmed the admirers of Machiavelli, and they have attributed to him intentions which the writer believes he never possessed and never could have possessed. Says Rousseau: "Machiavelli was an honest man and a good citizen; but, attached to the house of Medici, he was forced, in the oppression of his country, to disguise his love for liberty. The mere choice of his execrable hero (Caesar Borgia) shows his real intention, and the opposition of the maxims contained in *The Prince*, to those of his *Discourse on Titus Livius*, and of his *History of Florence*, demonstrates that hitherto this profound statesman has had only superficial and corrupt readers. The court of Rome has strictly prohibited his book, and with good reason, for in depicting it, the author has used his most vivid colors."^{*}

Without disparaging Rousseau and his feeling of scorn, the inconsistency, which he attributes to the maxims of Machiavelli does not in the least exist. We are ready to admit that the Florentine Secretary possessed the soul of a patriot, and that he valued national independence above all else; but the liberty which in happier days he would have loved in a repub-

^{*} *Contrat Social*, liv. III, ch. vi, note.

lic, he looked for and accepted at the hands of a master more adroit or unprincipled than others. Machiavelli desired supremely that Italy should be great and united. He had no perception of the spiritual and divine in liberty; his policy is materialistic, and like all materialistic doctrine, ends, as its final conclusion, with the reign of force. A hero, as the leader of sorrowing humanity, is the last expression of a school which can have neither the respect nor the love of the individual. If this poor clay of which man is formed does not contain an immortal essence, what is its value?

With the Reformation we enter a new world. It is the awakening of the German spirit and of the Christian spirit; it is the true renaissance,—that which, in emancipating the conscience, at once gave a new life to Catholicism itself and broke in pieces the old yoke of the Cæsars.

This was not, doubtless, the intention of the first reformers, but new ideas always go farther than the originators anticipate. The first reformers sought to return to the primitive Gospel, the pure doctrine of the apostles; they did not trouble themselves about politics. On the contrary, in order to resist the pope, they leaned rather too much upon the secular arm; but how were they to return to the early days of the Gospel without proclaiming that the soul belongs to God alone, that it is free to save itself or to lose itself, and that, as a consequence, no one has the right to impose the truth upon it.

To an unreflecting mind, it would appear that the questions here presented are purely theological or dogmatic, having no place outside of the sanctuary. But is this so? If man has the right to seek truth freely, he has the right to declare and communicate this truth; he has the right to associate himself with others who think as he does, and to assist them and relieve their wants. A free church, free education, free association, the right to speak and to write,—these are consequences of the liberty of conscience proclaimed by the reformers. Without knowing it, and without desiring it, they brought about a revolution.

This was soon seen. England, especially, had experience of the new state of things. The theories of divine right, of legitimacy, of the unlimited power of kings, fell with the ruins of the ancient edifice of Catholicism. Natural right, that is to say, the right of every individual to live and develop his faculties, became the foundation of political law. Theoretically, the social order was reversed. Up to that time all authority proceeded from the pope or king,—liberty was a gracious con-

cession of the sovereign; after the reformation, and especially after the revolution of 1688, all authority proceeded from the individual. Government became only a guaranty of private liberties; the prince became only a mandatory, who might be superseded for incapacity or unfaithfulness.

Locke was the statesman of this new school. His treatise on Civil Government has been the handbook of modern liberty. It is certainly not free from error; the theory which bases society on a contract, led Rousseau to frightful extremes; but, if society is a natural fact, as it was regarded by Aristotle, and not a contract as was assumed by Locke and Rousseau, yet the case is different with government. Whether there have been an original compact or not, the right and the duty of princes remain the same in all countries. They reign for the benefit of the people and not for their own, and therefore, by a necessary conclusion, their power is not absolute. Their authority stops where the common interest ends and the natural right of the individual begins.

While England, possessed by the new idea, struggled in the midst of revolutions, while Holland was growing great in the midst of storms, and threw open the gates of its hospitable cities to the persecuted of all lands, Spain tightened the bands of its unity and strengthened the inquisition; France committed itself without reserve to the will of Louis XIV; Bossuet, the great apologist of tradition, wrote his "*Politique tirée de l'Ecriture sainte*," and fulminated against the Protestants the "*Sixième Avertissement*," at once a master-piece of eloquence and an impotent defiance thrown at the new force which was taking possession of humanity.

Since that time this great inspiration, whose progress no power can check, has renewed the world. If we look about us, we find that the origin of the greatness and wealth of the nations of modern times is neither territory, nor climate, nor antiquity, nor race; it is liberty. Spain, the last fortress of uniformity, has fallen notwithstanding the bravery and chivalry of its people, while England now occupies the first place. For two centuries its prosperity has astonished those who have eyes but who see not; for two centuries prophets of a dubious inspiration have been foretelling the decay and impending ruin of England, and yet this long-lived people, which resisted Louis XIV as it did Napoleon, seems but to play with storms; to-day it is richer, stronger, and, above all, freer and more moral than at any other time in its history.

How is it that the predictions of the statesmen of the old school have proved so false? How is it that a country without material unity, without administrative uniformity should be animated by so jealous a patriotism? How is it that a nation so full of dissenters, visionaries and charlatans should give to religion so large a place in life? How is it that the press should be agitated, the halls of legislation in a tumult, and men's minds perfectly tranquil? All this comes of liberty. The prouder and more tenacious we are of our rights as citizens, the more dearly do we love our country; we have a greater respect for religion when our faith is of our own choice, and men may not interfere with our relations to God. We are more disposed to tranquility the more means we have of defending our ideas, and when we may await the vindication of truth as the triumph of our courage and patience.

* Look at America, the daughter of England; rather let us say England itself removed to the new world; with its established church, its nobility, its privileges and abuses left behind in the old country. It is a pure democracy; but it is a Christian democracy. In our eyes the nation appears weak, because it does not possess the Roman institutions and administrative centralization which, from our stand-point, enter into the idea of the State; but it is strong in having what is wanting to us, in the liberty possessed by every community to manage its own affairs, in its ecclesiastical freedom, in its public education, in its power of association, in the great body of its individual liberties. The State is small, the individual is great.

What vitality is exhibited in the present gigantic struggle for its existence! What other country could have sustained two years* of civil war—and such a war!—without disturbance to public order, without having liberty threatened by power, betrayed by ambitious men, or insulted by cowards?

We have here the triumph of modern liberty; but if we retrace our steps we readily perceive that this liberty is the reverse of the idea of Aristotle. It is the sovereignty of the individual opposed to the ancient sovereignty of the State.

The difference between these two liberties was expressed by Benjamin Constant, more than forty years ago, in a passage which has lost none of its truth:*

"Do you ask what an Englishman of the present day means by the word liberty?

* Written in 1864.

* *De la Liberté des anciens à comparée celle des modernes*, Cours de politique constit., t. ii, p. 541.

"It is for every one to be subject only to the laws; for it to be impossible for him to be either arrested, imprisoned or put to death, or maltreated in any way by the arbitrary will of one individual or of many. It is for every one the right of expressing his opinion, of choosing his occupation and pursuing it, of disposing of his property, even of making a bad use of it; of going and coming without asking permission and without giving an account of his motives or his proceedings. It is for every one the right of assembling with others either to confer in relation to common interests, to worship in those forms which he and his associates prefer, or simply in order to pass their time in a way more agreeable to their inclinations and fancies. Finally, it is the right of every one to exercise an influence in the administration of government, either by the appointment of all or of certain functionaries, or by representations, petitions, or demands which authority is obliged, in a greater or less degree, to take into consideration."

"Now compare this liberty with that of the ancients."

"The latter consisted in the collective, but, at the same time, direct exercise of a number of the functions of complete sovereignty; in deciding, in the public assemblies of the people, upon the question of peace or war; in concluding treaties of alliance with foreign nations; in passing laws; in pronouncing judgments; in examining the accounts, the conduct and the administration of the magistrates; in obliging them to appear before the people; in accusing them, and in condemning or absolving them. But, while this was what the ancients called liberty, they admitted, as compatible with this collective liberty, the most complete subjection of the individual to the authority of the whole. All private actions were under the strictest surveillance. Nothing was allowed to individual independence either in opinion, pursuit or, especially, religion. Freedom of choice in the matter of worship, held by us as one of our most precious rights, would have appeared both a crime and a sacrilege to the ancients. In matters which seem to us of the most trivial nature, the authority of the social body interfered for the purpose of restraining the will of individuals. Terpander could not add a string to his lyre without causing offense to the Spartan magistrates. The laws regulated manners and customs, and, as these are connected with everything else, there was nothing which was not regulated by law."

Thus, in the ancient world, the individual, sovereign in all

public affairs, was a slave so far as private matters were concerned. In the modern world, on the contrary, the individual, independent in private life, is, even in those countries where there is most freedom, sovereign only in appearance. His sovereignty is restrained, almost always in abeyance; and if at certain fixed, though rare periods, during which he is still surrounded with precautions and hindrances, he exercises this sovereignty, he never does so but to abdicate it."

Have our minds received and do our institutions embody this clear conception of modern liberty, these ideas at once so simple, so true and so practical? Far from it; and, even since 1789, it may be said that France, warped from her natural tendency, has leaned now toward modern liberty, and now toward the ancient sovereignty. Politicians infected with antiquity have never been able to rise high enough to understand that in our great modern States, in which people live by industry, and do not meet in the public square at every hour of the day, sovereignty after the Greek pattern is only a lure and a source of peril.

In 1789 men got hold of the ideas of modern liberty. The influence of Montesquieu, of the physiocrats, of Lafayette and his friends—Americans they called them—was preponderant. The famous principles of '89, so often praised without question as an admirable invention of French genius, are no more than a translation of the Bill of Rights of 1689, or of the supplementary articles of the Constitution of the United States. Unfortunately we stopped at a barren proclamation; we still await the liberties of which our forefathers did not think themselves unworthy seventy years ago.

With the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, we went back, through Rousseau and Mably, to the ancient sovereignty; our institutions, like our manners, were copied from the Greeks; a ridiculous and false imitation.

It was Robespierre, a fanatical disciple of Rousseau, who, following the example of his master, desired the establishment of a civil religion and a state education, in order to unite in the hands of the sovereign the two heads of the eagle which Jesus Christ separated; and they were the disciples of Mably, who, following this serious dreamer, declared that individual liberty was a curse, property an evil, and, finally, that legislative authority had no limits, and was applicable to everything. The more complete the subjection of the individual the greater the sovereignty of the people, and consequently the more powerful its liberty. It was in

vain that men protested against this singular liberty, born of servitude: St. Just and Robespierre had a saying of Rousseau always ready to stop the mouth of any one who dared to murmur: "The laws of liberty are a thousand-fold more austere than the yoke of tyrants." Remember that these terrible logicians possessed the power of applying confiscation, exile, and the guillotine to the support of their reasoning, and it may be understood why France learned to hold in horror a liberty which was only one of the worst forms of tyranny.

With the constitution of the year III, there was a return to modern ideas; Montesquieu became popular and was enlogized in the assemblies. Here we discover the work of honest men and enlightened patriots; the hand of Daunon becomes evident. If this attempt at liberty was a failure, it was because there were bloody memories in France, because the passions and hatred of men were again excited, because the country had sore need of repose and forgetfulness.

This repose the Consulate gave to France, adding to its glory; but it is selling glory to us at too dear a price, when the cost is the loss of liberty. In all histories it is the fashion to make a great deal of the organizing genius of the First Consul; Napoleon is made a Lycurgus inventing new institutions for a nation which revolutions had ground to dust. But this is going too far. The energetic will of Bonaparte is a fit subject of praise, but not his political ideas; for all these ideas may be reduced to a single one: to cause France to return to the furrow of the old monarchy.

Unquestionably, the First Consul did not reëstablish the ancient nobility with its feudal privileges, nor the clergy with its great possessions, nor the provincial estates with their political privileges, nor the parliament with its antiquated rights. He respected all that had been accomplished by the Revolution in favor of equality, for the simple reason that equality pleased France and was no way inconvenient, even if it did not serve the supreme power of the head of the State. But the religious, political, financial and judicial administration was borrowed or copied from the ancient monarchy; institutions, ideas and men were made to resume their places, and a genuine restoration was effected. The hand was powerful; France had need of order; but nothing was done for the future. As Napoleon said: "I am a seal placed upon the book of the Revolution; after I have gone it will recommence at the page and at the line where I have left it." This phrase, so completely embodying the truth, carries with it the condemnation of the

empire ; in most it will excite admiration for the powerful hand which checked the nation in its career and turned it back upon its steps ; in more critical minds it will awaken doubt. The question will be asked whether a statesman, who had ten years before him, and a confiding and docile people, had not opportunity large enough to educate a nation up to liberty, transforming revolution into reformation, a curse into a blessing.

With the Charter reappeared the principles of 1789; Benjamin Constant and Madame de Staël were their most enlightened and able defenders ; but, without dwelling on the memories and passions which could not fail to disturb the reign of the Bourbons, it is evident that from the very first the struggle was between the traditions of the past and modern liberty, between the individual who sought to govern himself and an administration which aimed to appropriate and direct everything.

This war has gone on for fifty years with varying fortunes. Commerce, the arts, and manufactures have increasingly fostered a taste for individual action ; while, on the other hand, administration has extended its net-work further and further. If the extent of territory which centralization has conquered be measured, it will appear as though little were lacking in order to give back to us the ancient state under a milder form. The administration summons to and concentrates in itself all sovereignty, all political life ; it alone is the nation.

If the energetic resistance of private interest had no existence ; if industry, by its very nature, did not escape the control of the administration ; if, especially, men listened to a school which considers itself national because it lives upon old prejudices ; the state, a personification of the nation, a representative of the French people, would soon be master of all. Protector of recognized churches, it would upon occasion banish schism and heresy as causes of trouble and agitation ; having charge of education, it would instruct our children, fashioning their minds to a triumphant uniformity ; dispenser of charity, it would be our almoner, replacing free association by regulated administration ; guardian of the *communes*, it would take care of all local interests ; the only preserver of order, it would organize a universal police to watch over us and direct our steps as children, assuming the responsibility of our happiness and asking of us only to live and peacefully obey.

This form of government smiles upon the classical liberals, who, at heart, have only a slight esteem for liberty. They

are persuaded that we have, in such a system, not only one which suits the temperament of France, but that it is the final triumph of civilization. The writer is acquainted with very worthy people who confidently believe that before long England, renouncing its feudal barbarism, and America, forsaking its savage anarchy, will come to the school of France in order to learn the lesson of centralization. This is turning one's back to the light, not perceiving that the Christian idea, broken loose from dogma, has entered into modes of life ; that the reign of the individual approaches, and that every effort of statesmanship ought to be directed to aid this new progress of humanity.

Already in industry and trade a revolution has been accomplished. To the individual, to free association, we commit the care of our bodies and of our life. The last bulwarks of protection have been removed, and has the State suffered ? Is it less tranquil or less rich ? Not to speak of bread, the principal food of Frenchmen, have provisions ever been more abundant and their supply more regular and certain than since the administration was forced, heartily against its will, to lay aside its character of Providence, and abandon everything to the anarchy of private interests ? What a refutation of the wisdom of Colbert and of the science of his successors !

But is this an isolated phenomenon ? Is what is true in business false in religion or in politics ? No, all liberties are connected ; for, under different names, all liberties are but the play of our activity, the effort of our minds rather than of our arms. Religious liberty, freedom of education, freedom of association, commercial liberty, freedom of the press—all these phantoms which terrify many who highly esteem their own wisdom, would be beneficent forces so soon as intelligent statesmanship gives them free course. Not only would they elevate men's minds, they would purify them ; far from being dangerous to the State, they would prove additional safeguards. In distributing human activity and in providing regular occupation for it, in creating for the individual new and important interests, they would prevent those political epidemics, as they may be called, which in a moment seize upon a people weary of repose and corrupted by idleness.

This is proved by the example of all those nations which, instead of combating and confining liberty, find it simpler to live by it, seeking happiness and peace by means of it. What country is there more profoundly tranquil or stronger than England ! Storms may rage without, but confidence has

possession of all breasts. Even when there is cause of dispute, the field of conflict is limited ; the contest is for some new right and never with the intention of overturning the government.

France, it is said, has neither the spirit nor the habits of liberty. The writer does not possess the modesty of those statesmen who gratuitously present us with a diploma of incapacity ; this award strikes him as rather severe for a prejudiced person. What opportunity has ever been given us through the enjoyment of liberty to prove that we are incapable of making a proper use of it ? Does any one believe that at this time if there were legal permission to speak, to meet together, to form committees, France would prove itself less capable of alleviating misery than free England ? What people is better qualified to form associations than the people which is preëminently sociable ? Before declaring us incapable, why not permit us the privilege of association for at least a month or two ?

All liberty, it is said, is a matter of education ; it never really exists except where use and habit have made it enter into the manners and customs of a people. I recognize the truth of this saying ; but I deduce from it a conclusion very different from that which is commonly drawn. If all liberty is a matter of education, what other method is there of elevating and instructing France except that of allowing us to live in freedom ? After we have been held in leading-strings for another half century shall we be better able to walk alone ? Does not the constant use of the tool make the workman ? Can he who sits in the chimney-corner all his days ever be a soldier ?

It were well if we could be done with these sophisms, and could begin to understand our own time and our own country. In the middle of the nineteenth century, in Europe, among Christian nations, liberty is not a question of race, it is a question of civilization—that is, of practice and education. The most cultivated, the most intelligent, the most fearless seize hold of this admirable instrument and march at the head of the nations ; the most ignorant or the most timid mistrust this marvellous force and remain behind. Power, wealth, intelligence, morality, faith—all are in proportion to individual liberty. To say to France that it has not moderation enough or mind enough to claim the first place, is either a strange sort of wisdom or a strange sort of patriotism.

The writer of this article asks leave to appeal from decisions rendered by judges so frivolous and incompetent. Eng-

land has preceded us by a half century in the career of industrial liberty ; but do not we know that with our French intensity of purpose and action we are rapidly regaining the lost ground ? . Why, then, should we prove incapable if the question were one of religion, of education, or of philanthropy ?

It is often assumed that this great name of liberty is one of those magical words which have the power of charming youth and of seducing it like so many other illusions. Mature age, we are told, reclaims us from these early and deceitful attachments. But here, again, is another prejudice ; a man may be old and yet liberal ; I even add that it is perhaps necessary to have lived some time, before we can fully understand the impotence of all administrative mechanisms and the productive energy of liberty. When we are young there is something about systems which pleases us ; we delight in symmetry and unity ; there is something fine in being able to make the happiness of nations by a touch of a wand ; this is the pleasant dream. The life of nations, like that of man, is the reign of diversity ; liberty alone is capable of satisfying all the various and complex needs which present themselves in ceaseless succession. The folly is not in failing to understand or love liberty ; it is in believing in sterile formulas and in an impotent and deadly uniformity,

Only yesterday we heard the cry that France would be destroyed were our frontiers opened to commercial liberty. The experiment has been made and France has not perished. And so the day will come when it will be understood that the rights and interests of the humblest citizen have their strongest guaranty in that press which it is now considered in good taste to revile. The most ignorant, instructed and reassured by experience, will know that without liberty of the press there is neither complete justice, nor profitable administration, nor prosperous finances, nor settled peace, nor a really strong government ; those oracles which have been frightening us for so long a time, will then be held in derision. When that day arrives we shall perhaps be sensible that our errors have been the fruit of the political ideas we have improperly borrowed from antiquity ; the problem will be restored to its true terms ; and instead of some of us being alarmed at Christianity and others at liberty, we shall see clearly that both have the same origin, and that, if the individual possesses the right to be sovereign, it is because Christ has set our spirits free and has forever broken the despotism of the State.

ART. VII.—NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

Περὶ Ἀρχῶν ὑπὸ Νικόλαου Μ. Δαμαλάς.—*A Treatise on Principles* by NICHOLAS M. DAMALAS, Leipzig, 1865. The title of this book is more fully "On the Scientific and Ecclesiastic Principles of the Orthodox Theology." One fifth of the volume, and the most interesting portion, Damalas devotes to the discussion of the Scientific Principles, and in the remaining four-fifths he gives his special strength to the Ecclesiastic Principles. In both, his aim is the accurate definition and clear exposition of these principles. In the *scientific part*, he compares his own views with Schleiermacher's, and endeavors to show the errors of the latter. He states Schleiermacher's view as this, that, theology is an arranged science, or a union of scientific elements, having, oneness not in that they form one thing by the force of the idea of the science, but in that they are necessary to the acquirement of a certain practical end. Christian Theology is the *tout ensemble* of those scientific rules, the holding and use of which are necessary to the uniform ecclesiastic government, which, without them, is impossible. Hence, Theology is three-fold—Philosophic, Historic, and Practical. Damalas, in reply to Schleiermacher, says that Theology is the Science of Christian Worship, and that Christian Worship is the relation between God and man established by our Saviour through his death on the cross, reconciling us to our God and Father. Clement and Origen were the fathers of the science. *Historis* was first and *πράξις* afterward, the apostles having purposely left much for us to seek out. Theology accepts Christianity as true, as the only way of accounting for facts; and then it searches the Holy Scriptures and expounds them; then it marks the history of the Church with its definition and unfolding of the theoretic truths of Scripture and its arrangement of the practical, noting also the history of false churches; and, lastly, it reconciles and adapts these truths to human reason. Hence, Theology is three-fold, Biblic, Historic, and Theoretic. The last division is sub-divided into Systematic and Apologetic, from all which comes Applied or Practical Theology.

Thus Damalas makes Theology a science, having its origin in human reason, only the applied Theology having its source in the practical necessities of the Church; while Schleiermacher makes Theology a practical science, having its origin and oneness in the Church, having only the ecclesiastic government as its aim. It is all exoteric according to Schleiermacher, while Damalas insists on its esoteric character.

Damalas endeavors to show that Protestantism puts human authority above the Divine, because it judges what is Scripture, while Orthodoxy (he rings many changes on the one, ancient, holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and Orthodox Church!) takes what the Church says is Scripture. Hence, Protestantism has a thousand tyrants of interpretation. He asserts that Schleiermacher is forced to give Theology a purely practical character in order to save Protestantism. His notion of Theology as a pure science, accepting Christianity, leads (he supposes) to freedom from heresy in obedience to the Church, while the practical view would generate differences according as methods were differently considered.

Damalas grants that ministers of the Church should study the Scriptures, but contends earnestly for theoretic theology. Against Schleiermacher's position, that a theology without a practical connection with

the Church, is a body without a soul, he enters his protest. He adds that Theology has its origin in human reason, but the Church in the counsel of the Holy Trinity and the founding of the Holy Spirit. Theology views the revelation as a hypothesis, which accounts for spiritual phenomena, but the Church is fixed on revelation, and never puts in question its truth, divinity, and inspiration. Theology is human, the Church divine. Theology can err, the Church never. In the *ecclesiastic part* of his treatise, Damalas compares the dogmas of the Greek, Latin, and Protestant Churches, in order to show the errors of the last two. He acknowledges that there is much ignorance in the Greek Church, arising from the long servitude of that Church, hindering the formation of a theological science. He knows of no book in the Greek Church which shows the essential differences between the three churches, and then he asks the question, What benefit in rites or traditions, if the principles are unknown? A valuable question which might be profitable for a large part of Christendom to digest. He confesses that the Greek Church is dead, but only in its science. (Does not that, according to his question, prove the death to be complete?) Even if it were dead, he poetically declares he would prefer to lie buried in the sweet meadows of the Word of God and the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Church, than to be alive in the marshes of human tradition, Latin or Protestant.

He makes three divisions in his second part, on God, on Man, and on the Church. The division on Man regards him in his primal innocence, in his fall and consequent condition, and in his redemption and salvation from his original sin. The division on the Church has two chapters, one on its definition and character, and the other on its work. In the latter chapter, (which is more than a third of the whole book) he treats first of the Church's work, before one's introduction to it, where a justifying faith is the subject; then of the Church's work in introducing one, where baptism and justification are made virtually one; then of the Church's work after one's introduction, where the subjects are the sanctifying mysteries and faith working by love; and lastly, of the final and full justification in the future life.

The book is written with power and spirit, and is a very valuable presentation of the Greek Church in its theological aspects, by one of its most able defenders.

H. C.

Theologische Ethik, von DR. RICHARD ROTHE. Bd. I., second edition, wholly recast, Wittenberg, 1867. Dr. Rothe's great work on Theological Ethics, was first published 22 years ago, and has been out of the market for 10 years; but he would not reprint the old edition, and has just completed the re-writing of a part of the first volume, doubling the space the same topics occupied in the previous edition. A frank, characteristic, and striking preface lets us into the author's views and feelings in a somewhat unusual way. The part here rewritten is the most important; the speculative basis in which the strength of the work is found. On speculative theology, and on psychology, it is, in fact, a treatise by itself. This work of Rothe is, in part, a system of philosophical theology, rather than what we commonly understand by Ethics. It summons the reader to the highest thought on the most profound subjects. As against naturalism, it is one of the great books of the century. We can now only announce it, but hope to recur to it again more fully, at some future time.

Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, by WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D., Prof. in Union Theological Seminary, New York: Chs. Scribner, 1867. Our read-

ers have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with several of the admirable papers contained in this new volume of Dr. Shedd. As published in our pages, they attracted such general and deserved attention, that his publisher was naturally desirous of putting the whole course of lectures, delivered some years since by the author, at Auburn Theological Seminary, into a permanent shape. In some respects and directions, they will increase Dr. Shedd's wide theological reputation, bringing out, as they do, his capacity for handling subjects in a practical way, for the use of the ministry. The work is not shaped into a systematic form, like German treatises, but consists of a series of lectures on the main points of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, with a method running through them. The literature of the subject, as well as several incident and collateral points, must be gathered by the student from other sources. The lectures on Pastoral Theology, in particular, are very much compressed, giving only the large and general outlines of this fertile topic.

But the work will be found to be an admirable guide and stimulus in whatever pertains to this department of theology. The student finds himself in the hands of a master, able to quicken and enlarge his scope and spirit. The homiletical precepts are well illustrated by the author's own style, which is muscular, while quivering with nervous life. Now-a-days, one rarely reads such good English writing, elevated and clear, sinewy and flexible, transparent for the thought. Each topic is handled in a true, progressive method. Our young ministers may well make a study of this book.

The Christ of the Apostles' Creed: The Voice of the Church against Arianism, Strauss and Renan, with an Appendix. By Rev. W. A. SCOTT, D. D. New York: Randolph, 1867, pp. 432. Dr. Scott delivered to his congregation in this city a series of discourses on the articles of the Apostles' Creed, which form the body of this goodly volume. The application to the theories of Strauss and Renan, is contained chiefly in the appendix, which is hardly equal in fullness and definiteness of discussion to the doctrinal parts of the rest of the book. The so-called Apostles' Creed, the common property of Christendom, is an admirable basis and starting point for setting forth the main facts and doctrines of Christianity, as these centre in the person and work of Christ. Dr. Scott is orthodox in his theology, evangelical in his tone, and impressive in his appeals. He has read largely in the literature of the Creed, and presents results which will be found instructive and edifying. His work will have the effect of drawing his readers more and more to the great central objects of the Christian faith. Of course, it is rather popular than scientific in its character, but it may thus meet a wider need. The publisher has brought out the volume in an attractive style.

Christocracy: or, Essays on the Coming and Kingdom of Christ, with Answers to the Principal Objections of Postmillenarians. By JOHN T. DEMAREST and WILLIAM B. GORDON. New York: A. Lloyd, 1867, pp. 403. Even those persons, who, like ourselves, have no special partiality for the pre-millennial advent theory, may be interested in the clear and temperate defense of this theory here given by two esteemed ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church. The discussion is, for the most part, compressed and definite; and under each head the objections are stated and replied to. Sometimes the objection seems to us stronger than the reply, but that illustrates the impartiality of the authors. The arguments for the pre-millennial theory, even as here presented, strike us, indeed, as quite insuffi-

cient to bear the weight of a conclusion, which has such vital relations to the whole of the eschatology; nor can we coincide with that extreme literalness of interpretation which asserts, for example, that under Christ's personal reign the old Jewish sacrifices shall be restored. The only really strong argument is from Rev. xx, on the First Resurrection; but this can surely and fairly be interpreted in a spiritual sense. To insist that Christ's coming (*parousia*) always means one and the same thing, is certainly a forced interpretation. Still, we can cordially commend the work as honest and able, to those who desire to look into this perplexing theme.

The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. Bampton Lectures. By THOS. DEHANY BERNARD, A. M. From the second London edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1867, pp. 258. The object of these thoughtful and elevated lectures is to show that there is, and was designed to be, a progress in the unfolding of Divine truth, in the very order in which the books of the New Testament follow each other, viz.: The Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles (and to a certain extent, in the order of the Epistles themselves), and lastly the Apocalypse. This general idea is finely worked out in the successive lectures, so as to insure entire conviction, and to throw considerable light on what may be called the interior economy of the Divine Word. The principles of this progress of doctrine are said to be "Constituted by the Relations of the Doctrine (1) to its Author; (2) to the Facts on which it is founded; (3) to the Human Mind; and (4) of the several Parts of the Doctrine to each other. Some of the summary statements are exceedingly well expressed, as when it is said, that "the Gospel Collection, in its general effect, prepares us for further teaching by creating the want, giving the pledge, depositing the material, and providing the safeguard." We cordially commend the work; it will stimulate and instruct.

God's Word Written—The Doctrine of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture Explained and Enforced. By Rev. EDWARD GARBETT, M. A., American Tract Society. Boston and New York. Republished from the London Religious Tract Society. We are glad to see this work republished. It is a clear, conscientious, and, in the main, a satisfactory view of the subject. The author holds that the inspiration is verbal, in the sense, that the divine influence in all cases extended to the very words. The whole of Scripture is both divine and human; it is all divine, it is all human; the Divine being the superior and shaping element. The course of discussion is natural and progressive, starting with the inquiry, What is Christianity? then showing its relation to the Scriptures (rather too strongly expressed as an "identity"); next proving the authority of the Scripture, and the witness which it bears to its own inspiration, etc. The divine and human elements are distinguished and their relations shown. Finally, the objections are well considered, although we cannot help feeling that the author has not put them as sharply as objectors are apt to do; and, also, that he has not fully shown how the difficulties all square with his own theory. But still, we welcome the volume as a candid and able contribution to the clearing up of this important subject.

Liber Librorum: Its Structure, Limitation and Purpose: A Friendly Communication to a Reluctant Sceptic. New York: Scribner & Co., 1867, pp. 232. With a preface to the American edition. With considerable incidental matter, the aim of this volume may be said to consist in advocating the view, that a partial inspiration of the Scriptures meets all that the

Scriptures claim, or that can now be defended. The discussion is somewhat desultory and quite unsatisfactory. The author concedes altogether too much to the objectors. His own position, logically carried out, would lead him into greater difficulties than those which he seeks to avoid. He does not sufficiently appreciate the distinction between inspiration and revelation, nor the difference between dictation and inspiration. He has not, in fact, any well developed theory of inspiration. Yet, at the same time, the work contains cogent arguments in favor of the fact of a specific revelation and a real inspiration, as against the objections of the modern naturalistic and rationalistic schools.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Manual of Biblical Interpretation. By JOSEPH MUENSCHER, D.D. Printed for the Author. Gambier, 1865, 12mo., pp. 318. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. It is a well known fact that only for about half a century has Holy Scripture been studied in this country on scientific principles, even by those who were to be presumed to study it in the most thorough manner. The old practice of theological students was, to read some system of Divinity and consult Scripture for proof of its dogmas. It was not till the beginning of this century, when Theological Seminaries began to be established among us, that the systematic and critical study of Scripture in the original tongues was inaugurated, and then the need was felt for some suitable text-book on the subject of Sacred Hermeneutics, in which should be embodied the leading principles and rules of interpreting the Word of God. Prof. Stuart, of Andover, who has justly been styled the Father of Biblical Learning in this country, and to whom, and his immediate pupils, we are directly or indirectly indebted for nearly all our present apparatus of Biblical study, led the way in this important path by translating and publishing in 1822, the First Part of Ernesti's *Institutio Interpretis*, being regarded by him, as on the whole, better adapted to the wants of the church and of theological students in this country, than any other that had been produced. Ernesti's piety and his learning, both sacred and profane, are well known to all scholars. About the time of the publication of Ernesti in this country, the very valuable introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, by Dr. Hartwell Horne, appeared in England, one volume of which related to Criticism and Interpretation. This extensive work has reached the tenth edition abroad, and has been reprinted here, and to some extent used as a text-book in our Divinity Schools, but it is rather a storehouse for reference than a manual for use. Within the last quarter of a century, several other works on sacred exegesis have been produced or reprinted in this country; such as *Planck's Introduction*, by Prof. Turner, in 1834, *McClelland's Manual* in the same year, *Dobie's Key to the Bible*, in 1856, and more recently, *Fairbairn's Hermeneutical Manual*. These works all possess merit, but there was still felt the lack of a work of convenient size, as a manual of consultation for ministers, of study for theological students, and at the same time of a cast sufficiently popular to meet the wants of intelligent laymen, especially of those who are engaged in Biblical instruction, and, also, of the more mature and thoughtful of their pupils.

Such a work the author of the present treatise has attempted to supply, and after reading the volume through with much care, we feel justified in saying that he has admirably succeeded. The work appears to have been undertaken and completed from a sincere desire on the part of

the writer to serve the public in a capacity in which he has shown himself well able to serve it.

The plan of the book, as a glance at the head of the chapters will show, is very comprehensive, and each branch of the subject is treated with great care and fullness. In illustrating his principles and rules, the author has introduced many passages of Scripture, and some of a very difficult nature, which he has handled in a highly judicious manner. The work has thus a special value as itself a direct interpreter of Holy Writ. In his treatment of the various subjects which come under review, the author has given us not only his own maturest thoughts, but on occasion, the views of pious and learned scholars of great reputation. We have been particularly gratified by seeing the excellent quotations from Prof. Stuart, Bishop Marsh, and Dr. Seiler. Whatever is advanced in the book appears to have been well considered, and the writer has sought not so much to say new things, though the treatise has that air of freshness and originality which belongs to every well wrought and independent work, as to say the best things he himself knows, or is able to give from others on the subject in hand.

It is a fact too much overlooked or forgotten, that the Bible, of all books, has been most laboriously and profoundly studied, and that we have an apparatus for understanding Holy Scripture far better than that of any other book. We have later and fuller lexicons and grammars on its languages, more minute and comprehensive commentaries on its meaning, more exact and adequate translations of it than of any other book. God has not left himself without honor in respect to His Holy Word amid the intense activities of men in intellectual and literary labor these few centuries back. It is inexcusable in us not to avail ourselves of the rich fruits of all this holy diligence. It behooves those who would teach in these momentous matters, in public or in private, to make themselves well acquainted with what they profess to know, and thus the pulpit will be more respected by men of culture, and the private Christian will more easily gain a hearing, where the masters of secular learning are so readily and earnestly listened to. It should be known that many of the objections urged against the Bible, lie equally against all ancient documents, and some of them against other writings even in a higher degree than against Holy Scripture; that the Bible has come down from antiquity better attested, even in a human sense, than any other book; that the variety of views in regard to the meaning of Scripture, is no greater than in the case of any other book, allowance being made for the mystery that must needs attach to a Divine revelation of the dealings of God with us and about us in the profoundest relations of our being; and, finally, that by the application of appropriate principles and precepts, Holy Scripture may be relieved of very many of the objections which are brought forward by ignorant or captious men.

C. S.

Novum Testamentum Vaticanum, post Angeli Maii aliorumque imperfectos Labores ex ipso Codice edidit A. F. C. TISCHENDORF, Lips.: Giesecke et Devrient. 1867, 4to pp. 1.284. We have just received Tischendorf's new edition of the Vatican Codex of the New Testament, prepared with great labor, and under some disadvantages, but faithfully collated and now first published in a correct form. The prolegomena extend to fifty pages. Tischendorf thinks that the Sinaitic and Vatican codices are of the same age; and he presents the arguments at length. This work is most important for the critical text of the New Testament. It is admirably printed, and sold

for about five dollars. At the same time, the indefatigable author publishes an appendix to the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrian Codices, in the type of the Sinaitic codex, containing two new pages of the Sinaitic, 20 of the Vatican, and 11 of the Alexandrian; and the Epistles of Clement of Rome, now first correctly published. Price 16 thlr. An elegant work.

Studies in the Gospels. By ARCHBISHOP TRENCH. New York: Scribner & Co., 1867, pp. 326. These admirable Studies investigate some of the more difficult passages in the Gospels, for the most part in a luminous and convincing way. They illustrate the fullness and richness of Scripture teaching; and also show how candid and complete study will relieve many difficulties, and so relieve them as to shed new light upon the sacred page, or rather, bring out the light there is in it. For this is one of the traits of a real solution of any problem, that it shows us how much more there was in the problem than is seen by those who find only discrepancy and not reconciliation.

Sixteen distinct subjects are discussed in these pages. Among the longer essays are those on the Temptation, The Transfiguration, Christ and the Samaritan Woman, The Penitent Malefactor, The New Piece in the Old Garment, The Unfinished Tower and the Deprecated War. There are also papers on the calling of Philip and Nathanael, The Sons of Thunder, Wisdom justified of her Children, The Three Aspirants, James and John calling down Fire on the Samaritan Village, The Return of the Seventy, The Pharisees Seeking to Scare the Lord from Gallilee, Zaccheus, The True Vine; ending with Christ and the Two Disciples on the way to Emmaus.

Those familiar with Archbishop Trench's exegetical works, will find here again his accustomed manner; a fullness of learning; apposite citations from the best sources; a truthful weighing of objections; a wise selection of parallel cases; judicious emendations of the text; and a calm judgment presiding over the details and results of the exposition. In his style there is a certain manner, which, if we may use the language of painting, seems borrowed from the old masters; an involution and roundness of phrase, that sometimes detracts from the simplicity of the structure of the sentence, while it adds a seeming dignity of mien. He likes to use words in their older sense, as when he speaks of "*preventing* their good tidings with those they had to tell"; and "*throwing* their *symbol* into the common stock," the latter like the usage of Jeremy Taylor. His moral and spiritual inferences are always presented incidentally, not of set, technical purpose, and often very shrewdly; as when, from the comparative silence of the older revelations about the existence and workings of Satan, he derives a hint as to reticence in the instruction of children on this theme. Sometimes, though sparingly, he illustrates his statements by finished metaphors, as when he says: "The saint, if he shine as a diamond at last, yet it is still as a diamond that has been polished in its own dust." Here is the poet as well as the exegete.

The essays on the Temptation, the Transfiguration, and the Penitent Malefactor are wrought out with special fullness and clearness. The historical accuracy of the narratives is unquestioned; and, as to the possibilities and modes, there is no irreverent questioning. The inquiry, whether Christ could sin, is dismissed with the statement that "the person is the Son of God," and that there "is not, nor has there been, any human person to contemplate, or in regard to whom to put this question." The state of the disciples during the transfiguration is represented as "an ecstatic state, one of divine clairvoyance." They were not asleep—the

phrase, "and when they were awake," should be rendered, "having kept themselves awake throughout."

The Gospels: with Moral Reflections on each Verse. By PASQUIER QUESNEL. With an Introductory Essay by Bishop Wilson. Revised by H. A. Boardman, D.D., 2 vols. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. Quesnel was of Scotch descent, born in Paris in 1634: he died in 1719. He was a Jansenist, and his Reflections on the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, had a wide circulation, which disturbed the Jesuits, who procured from Pope Clement XI, in 1714, the *Bull Unigenitus*, by which 101 propositions taken from Quesnel were condemned, most of them inculcating the doctrines of grace. After a long contest, this Bull was received in France, Bossuet and Fénelon finally acceding to the condemnation, and the name of Quesnel was cast out as evil, while his work, on which he labored for sixty years, was having an unprecedented circulation. That part of it relating to the Gospels was translated by Mr. Russell, in England, about 1730; revised and expurgated by Bishop Wilson; still further revised by Dr. Boardman in 1855, and it is now reissued in a handsome and solid style by Randolph. It is not distinguished for exegetical skill; it does not meet the requirements of modern philology; its interpretations are for the most part of the traditional order; some of "the doctrines of grace" are enfeebled or lost sight of. But it is, in spite of these drawbacks, so filled with a heavenly unction, with a simple, tender, humble spirit, with a sense of dependence upon God and divine grace, and applies divine truth in such an earnest and spiritual way to all the soul's needs, that none who reads these Reflections can fail to be benefitted thereby. The work abounds with hints and cautions to ministers as well as to the laity. All can understand it; it is good for all.

Lange's Commentary, edited by Dr. SCHAFF. *The Epistles General of James, Peter, John and Jude*; *James* by LANGE and VAN OSTERZEE; *Peter's Epistles and Jude* by FROMMUELLER; *John's Epistles* by KARL BRAUNE. Translated with additions by J. ISIDOR MOMBERT, D.D. New York: Scribner & Co., 1867. We cannot do much more than announce the appearance of another (the fourth) volume in this series, which has had such extraordinary success in this country. It contains the Catholic or General Epistles, upon which there are comparatively few commentaries in our English exegetical literature. Dr. Mombert appears to have executed his task well and faithfully; the supplements he has added from the stores of English literature, including even references to sermons on special texts, add to the value of the volume, especially in the homiletical division of the commentary. He also makes useful additions to the critical discussion of the text from the most recent authorities. Dr. Schaff's revising hand extends to the volumes which he does not himself translate. The demand for these volumes shows that they meet and satisfy a real need, especially in the ministry.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S. T. D., vol I. A. B. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867, pp. 947. English literature has produced two superior Biblical Cyclopædias, but no general Cyclopædia of merit covering the ground of all the departments of theological science. Buck's manual is quite out of date. Dr. Bomberger's condensation of Herzog is arrested in its mid career. Drs. McClintock and Strong have undertaken to supply this desideratum. They have been at work for several years, with excellent collaborators, in collecting and digesting the enor-

mous amount of necessary material. The printing of this volume was begun some five years ago, and then suspended. Various difficulties and hindrances incidental to such a new and wide project have had their influence in respect to some few minor points, and given occasion to some inaccuracies in this first volume. The preparations for the subsequent volumes are made with increased facilities and thoroughness. The work promises to be a monument of faithful labor; and it is animated by an honest purpose to represent the facts fairly and consistently. Of this we are persuaded, though we differ from the editors in the doctrinal views which will of course control them in the preparation of this work. They are Arminians of the Evangelical Methodist type, and tell us candidly that "the whole work is, of course, prepared from the editors' point of view as to theology, but, at the same time, it is hoped, in no narrow or sectarian spirit." And we have occasion to know that the editors are entirely willing to have the accounts of the doctrinal specialities of other churches prepared by, or submitted to persons connected with these communions.

Making allowance for minor inaccuracies, we have no hesitation in saying, that in all the previous English Cyclopædias combined, there is not so much brought together of what a theological student (minister or layman) may want to know about, as in this work, so far as letters A and B are concerned. The editors have, of course, had the full benefit of all the previous works, and they give a list of the same, with due general acknowledgments. They have freely appropriated whatever they found best; for they do not claim to be preparing an original work, but rather a digest of, or extracts from, what is on hand in various forms. And in doing this, they have shown, on the whole, good judgment in the selections and combinations.

In the article upon the "Authorized Version," the facts of the case, as to the final action of the American Bible Society about its revised edition, are not fully given. All that the writer seems to know about the matter is, that they revoked the "standard" edition, issued in 1851; adding, "what standard (if any) they were to follow, we have not been able to learn." An inquiry at the right source would have satisfied him that the work of collation, so as to arrive thereby at a satisfactory edition, has been faithfully performed; and that such collation was all that the Society was empowered to make. In the article on Arminianism, there is a statement which requires modification, viz.: that "the history of English theology will show that all who deviated from the golden mean maintained by Arminianism (between Calvinism on the one hand and Pelagianism on the other), have fallen into error as to the Trinity, while those who have adhered to the evangelical doctrines of Arminius have retained all the verities of the orthodox faith." Now, in reference even to the English Church, of which the writer is directly speaking, it is not true, that the Calvinists in that Church have shown any special tendency to desert Trinitarianism, rather the contrary. And outside of that Church it is well known that anti-Trinitarianism has sprung up in Arminian rather than in Calvinistic connections; the process has been, in many cases, through Arminianism to Unitarianism, and not directly from Calvinism to Unitarianism. Of course, those who "adhered to the evangelical doctrine of Arminius" did not also become anti-Trinitarians; that is a very safe statement; but many who held to the peculiarities of Arminianism as distinguished from Calvinism, did also become Unitarians both in England and this country. The translator of the Augsburg Confession (p. 339) was W. H.

Teale and not Zeale, and his work was published at Leeds, and not at London. One statement about Amyraut (p. 209) requires qualification, viz.: "As Amyraut held it, universal grace, or election, is of no actual saving benefit to any." But Amyraut did not identify the universal provision with the specific purpose of election; election, from its very nature, must be "of saving benefit." This, too, is alone consistent with the statements before and after.

One of the merits of the work is its full and valuable selections of the literature under each head, brought down to recent times; for example, under the word "Apology." The lectures of Luthardt, and the Basle lectures of Auberlen and others, there referred to, have been translated. The title of the new German periodical on this subject is *Beweis (not Apologie) des Glaubens*.

The volume is brought out in the best style, and should be liberally encouraged.

Dr. WILLIAM SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*. Revised and edited by Prof. H. B. Hackett, D.D., and Ezra Abbot, A.M. Parts I. II., pp. 224. New York: Hurd and Houghton. In this revision of Dr. Smith's well-known Dictionary, the editor has the coöperation of a large number of scholars in the different churches of this country, and will undoubtedly produce a work more accurate and thorough, and, in some respects, better adapted to our wants than the English edition. Dr. Hackett is entirely competent to his task; and Mr. Abbot's accurate scholarship will be vigilant against all sorts of errors in the details. The mechanical execution is excellent. There is abundant room for this Dictionary alongside of the other Cyclopædias. We wish it a large success.

The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula. By CARL RITTER. Translated and adapted to Biblical students by WILLIAM L. GAGE, 4 vols., 8vo., Appleton & Co. Price \$14. The first of these four handsome octavos is devoted to the Sinaitic Peninsula, the other three to Palestine west of the Jordan. This comprises, it is true, but a part of all the ground covered by Ritter; but in the judgment of the most competent advisers, Mr. Gage has done better to retain quite fully a part of the original work, than to attempt a closely condensed epitome of the whole. And it is without doubt true, that the portion presented here, is that which is the true basis of Biblical studies. Egypt, the trans-Jordan region, and the Lebanon district, are in one sense, extra Biblical regions; they come into the Bible history incidentally, and not as essential features.

The editor adheres strictly to the plan of retaining all of Ritter which in any way relates to the Bible, so far as the Bible has to do with Western Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula. Ritter has given us a careful and thorough digest of all the travellers and biblical geographers down to the period of Robinson's second visit, bringing their accounts into relation with each other, extracting every minute detail which gives any coloring to the picture, and generalizing the whole in his characteristic method. The editor has retained the outline of those chapters which relate to the Holy Land in its secular aspects, and the reader does not lose sight of the peculiarities of the great master in geographical science. Recent publications on Palestine are referred to, and in some cases extracts are made from them, e. g., from Tristram's *Land of Israel*, the author's account of the sites of Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida, and a translation of Lartet on the Basin of the Dead Sea.

Mr. Gage deserves the thanks and encouragement of all Biblical students.

for the pains and faithfulness with which he has accomplished his great task, not only of translating Ritter's work, but of adapting it to better use in various ways. He is a trained German scholar, and eminently qualified for this task, and the other projects of translation which he has in hand.

PRACTICAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

Messrs. Robert Carter & Brothers have published, during the quarter, as usual, several excellent works of a practical religious character, brought out in a pleasing and substantial style. The author of the "Wide, Wide World," continues her illustrations of *The Word: The House of Israel*, (pp. 504; illustrated with maps and engravings), and shows the fruits of conscientious study, woven into an attractive narrative. The plan is novel, simple, and satisfactory. Though we have missed seeing Dr. Guthrie in this country, yet two new works by him will make some amends; *Out of Harness; Sketches, Narrative and Descriptive*, (pp. 388); and *Our Father's Business*, (pp. 278); the former contains an agreeable series of miscellanea on Edinburgh, The Cowgate, Paris, New Brighton, etc.: the latter is an admirable volume for young men. *Donald Fraser*, by the author of "*Bertie Lee*," (pp. 224), is an excellent story about a Scotch lad who came to this country, and worked his way up to competency, by honesty and piety; many of the incidents, including the striking narrative about the Chinaman, are said to be real. *Helena's Household; a Tale of Rome in the First Century*, (pp. 422), is an American work, the name of the author not being given; but it is a volume of unusual excellence, containing a truthful and deeply interesting account of Nero and his persecutions, of the destruction of Jerusalem, of the life and conflicts of early Christians, etc. *Bogatzky's* well known *Golden Treasury* is reissued by the Carters, who also publish a small volume by Dr. Winslow on *Instant Glory*, including a biographical notice of Mrs. Winslow.

PHILOSOPHY.

Elements of Logic. By HENRY N. DAY, 12mo., pp. 320. New York: Scribner & Co., 1867. The scholar who undertakes, in the present state of things, to write a book on Logic, comes to a good inheritance; so much rubbish is there still to be cleared away, and so much new building to be done. He may well be content if he can make a fair contribution in either of these lines of work. But the first,—clearing away the old before building the new.

The work before us is in three parts: The Laws of Thought; The Doctrine of Method; and a Logical Praxis. It is written for the use of learners, and invites attention at once by the extent of ground it covers, by its condensation and its rigorous method. It is to be praised for the much that it contains, and for the more that it omits. It is marked by the author's well known closeness of thinking, strict method, and exhaustive enumeration. It is an earnest endeavor to rescue Logic from the thralldom of the schools and the cloister, and so to place it in the light of common day, that young men and maidens can study the workings of their own souls, with at least as much interest as they feel in studying bugs, moss, and sea-shells. If the success in this good endeavor is partial rather than complete, it is not that the author has not done well, but, that he has not done better; has not, in fact, bettered his instructions, and leaving the doctors to their fond devices, stood with more self-trusting patience to the interpretation of the great primal facts with which the

science deals. But, before specifying in this direction, let us give the due praise up to the point where we may be compelled to take exceptions. The general scheme, and the filling up of the first part, leave little to be desired. No learner can study the definitions and explanations of terms in this work without receiving a discipline that will be of life-long value. Just where other books on Logic are best, in the primary explanations, this is better than they—more full, definite, and progressive.

We note two points for criticism: one a point of language, the other, of theory. On page 108, in speaking of Quantity in the terms of a Proposition, we read: "the one principle is that each term must in each several proposition be taken in the same meaning in respect of quantity, as well as in respect of nature of object denoted by it." This is grammatically incorrect, and ambiguous in meaning. The grammatical error would be corrected by saying: each term must, in both the propositions in which it occurs, be taken, etc. The ambiguity lies in the phrase, "in the same meaning in respect of quantity." Does it mean, in the same Quantity as quantity,—the same amount of Quantity, the extension in the one—the extension in the other; or, comprehension in the one=comprehension in the other, as the case may be? or, does it mean that the same kind of Quantity shall appear in both propositions in which the same term occurs; i. e., if in one proposition the term shall be apprehended in extension, then in the other it must be in extension; if in the one, in comprehension, then in comprehension in the other? The context leads us to suppose the first to be the meaning intended, but the sentence does not show it. The second of the above meanings—that in a given syllogism the same term must be taken in the same kind of Quantity in both Propositions,—extension in both, or comprehension in both, seems to be tacitly assumed in all the books; and this, we think, is one of the fatal assumptions. As well might a geometrician apprehend a Solid solely by its top surface, or its side, neglecting the complementary dimension. But this is merely by the way, we shall recur to it further on.

The process of Induction occupies, of right, a considerable place in the present work, and has evidently been elaborated with much care. But we doubt if the learner will find the needed help in the exposition of this branch of reasoning. Take the example given as an illustration, on page 117.

"The Inferior Planets shine by reflected light;

The Superior Planets are complementary of the Inferior; therefore,

The Superior Planets shine by reflected light."

This Syllogism may be thus explicated:—

(a) The middle Term, (Inferior Planets) is Part of the Major Term, the whole class of things shining by reflected light.

(b) The minor Term (Superior Planets) is complementary of the middle Term (Inferior Planets);

(c) Therefore, the minor Term (Superior Planets) is Part of the Major Term (the whole class of Planets shining by reflected light).

The letters *a. b. c.*, are of our own insertion for reference. We annotate as follows: (a) Why then not stop here? if you apprehend the Inferior Planets as Part of the whole class of things shining by reflected light, why make a syllogism to prove that they, too, shine by reflected light? Why labor to prove that a part does what you have just said the whole does? The conclusion is already in the assumption,—not implicitly to be seen when unfolded in different quantity, but explicitly, *ex vi termini*.

(b) "Complementary," how? If in Extension, that does not justify the conclusion. It would as well justify the conclusion that the Superior Planets are warmer than the earth, or that they have no rings; if Complementary means in depth, it is not correct, for, in that Quantity, one contains the other.

(c) The Explication gives the conclusion not explicitly, but only inferentially, requiring an additional movement of mind to reach the point sought.

We are compelled to think this syllogism is empty, and does not represent truly the action of the mind in Induction. And so must every syllogism fail of giving any real help if its Terms are all read in the same quantity. There is a higher law for the syllogism, and the sooner we learn it, the sooner we shall get out of the house of bondage.

This matter of Induction has cost the author much thought. He has fortified himself with an appendix, and there has quoted from John Stuart Mill. This has a show of strength, but it will not avail; *non istis defensoribus*. We will quote from the quoted passage, that both he that helpeth and he that is holpen may fall together.

Page 226. "If from our experience of John, Thomas, etc., who once were living, but are now dead, we are entitled to conclude that all human beings are mortal, we might, surely, without any logical inconsequence, have concluded at once from those instances that the Duke of Wellington is mortal. The mortality of John, Thomas, and company, is, after all, the whole evidence of the mortality of the Duke of Wellington. Not one iota is added to the proof by interpolating a general proposition. Not only may we reason from particulars to particulars without passing through generals, but we perpetually do so reason." Now this means that there shall be no tacit, mental reference to the whole, in cases of reasoning like the above. It *must* mean this, because Logic aims to put into explicit, formal statement, every movement of mind involved in reasoning. If the mind, then, does move through the general notion—the whole—in passing from particular to particular, as in the above case, every logician will agree that that movement ought to be stated. To deny, then, that there is of necessity such a reference to the whole, means that there need be no tacit reference; that the reasoning shall borrow nothing for its own validity from such tacit reference. This being so, we say that J. S. Mill might just as well infer, from the mortality of John and Thomas, the mortality of the Angel Gabriel, as the mortality of the Duke of Wellington. For the bridge that carries him from John and Thomas to the Duke, is the general notion *man* under which they all are contained. But Mr. Mill proposes to reason without the help of this general notion. Without it he can go to any other particular—say the Angel Gabriel, as well as to the Duke. The moment you drop the whole out of mind, the parts are no longer parts, but only individuals. They have no relation to each other, they no longer face each other, have nothing to do with each other, any more than apples floating in a tub.

We welcome the work before us as a real help; it will stimulate thought; by dropping out of view much useless matter, it will narrow the field of inquiry, and so help to bring on the day when some fair degree of logical culture shall be the prized possession of every man of liberal education.

ART. VIII.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Herzog's Theological Encyclopedia is completed by the publication of the 208th part, making 21 vols. The supplement contains 400 articles, and a complete index. Among the subjects treated of in the Supplement are, Tischendorf on the Text of the Bible; Wieseler on Romans, Galatians, etc.; Köstlin on the Reformation; Patristic Literature by Gass, Wagenmann, and others; Andreä by Tholuck; Landerer on Daub; Beyschlag on Ullman; Baur and his School by Schmidt; Whately by Schöll; and many others. This great work is a monument of Protestant and German learning, far surpassing any previous attempt. We trust that Dr. Bomberger's abridgment of it, now comprising two volumes, may be resumed and completed.

Dr. Diestel has been called from Greifswald to Jena, to the chair of Old Testament Interpretation. Dr. Delitzsch has been called from Erlangen to Leipsick. Dr. Tuch of Leipsick is deceased: he wrote a Commentary on Genesis, and an *Æthiopic Grammar*.

Theologischer Jahresbericht. Von WILHELM HAUCK. First Series, 1866. Wiesbaden: pp. 786. Second Series, 1867: Part I. This new periodical aims to give a review of all the works, chiefly of Protestant theology, that are published in Germany. It is a large undertaking, and the editor has the assistance of writers at home in the several departments. The volume for 1866 brings the review of books down to the end of 1865. The contents of the books are generally given, sometimes quite in detail. It is a useful work for one who desires to see, in a moderate compass, an account of what is published in Germany. The works of each quarter are classified. Too much space seems to be given to works of an ephemeral character, but on the whole, taking into account the disadvantages of the first year, the object of the editor is fairly accomplished. The extent of the undertaking may be seen in the fact that some 750 works are noticed in this volume. The second year, part first, is an improvement on the first.

Perthes has just published new editions of Ullman's *Gregory Nazianzen*, and of Neander's first work, *Julian the Apostate*. He also announces a second edition of Hupfeld on the *Psalms*, edited by Riehm; and Aug. Mücke, *Dogmatics of the Nineteenth Century*.

In the Winter Semester, 1866-7, there were 861 Protestant theological students in the Prussian universities: Berlin 335, Halle 306, Königsberg 90, Breslau 79, Bona 34, Greifswald 17.

The long expected, new, and "wholly recast" edition of Rothe's *Theological Ethics*, Vol I, is just out; also the second volume of the enlarged edition of Baur's *Paul the Apostle*; a new edition of *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, by Dindorf, vols. I, II, containing the *Præparat. Evangel.* an *Encyclopædia of the Bible and the Talmud*, A to J, by Rabbi Hamburger; Baltzer on the *Biblical Account of the Creation*; Luthardt on *Luther's Ethics*; Rippold, *Hand book of Recent Church History* with a preface by Rothe; Vol III of Neumann's *History of the United States*.

Heidenheim's Quarterly, will hereafter be published regularly in Zurich and London. It is intended to promote an interchange of Biblical criticism between England and Germany; its tone is positive and conservative. In the 3d vol. 1866 (Nos. 1, 2, 3), we find, among other articles, a sharp review of Schenkel's Portraiture of Christ by Supt. Graf; the testimony of Ambrose in the 4th century to the New Testament books; an account of Bullinger and the 2d Helvetic Confession by Professor O. F. Fritzsche; the authenticity of the account of the Adulterers in John viii, by Graf, defending it; Staehelin on the Prophets; Grossley on some points of Biblical Geography; Heidenheim in defense of Deuteronomy against its more recent impugnors; Textual Criticisms on the Proverbs, by the same; Matth. v, 43, by Egli; Passover Songs of Samaritan High

Priests, translated by Heidenheim, who also gives some able criticisms on Numb. xxiii, 3, Ps. xxii, 16 (defending the Sept. and N. Test. reading), and Is. xl, 3. Edw. de Muralt (pp. 63-751), gives the results of a careful comparison of Origen, with the Vatican and Sanaitic MSS. on Matth. ch. i to vii, so as to get at the oldest text. Among the English works reviewed are *Ecce Homo*, and Fuller and Pusey on Daniel. The third part has articles by Fritzsche on Humanism in Germany; Superintendent Graf on Rom. viii, 18—the “creature” means, humanity not yet redeemed; Dr. Egil on Biblical Linguistics; Heidenheim on the text of the Proverbs, on the Samaritans, on Lev. xxiii, 15; E. de Muralt on Ancient MSS. of the Bible, etc.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. 2d., HEFT, 1867: Schlottmann, The Bridal Procession in Solomon's Song; Jacobson, the Idea of Vocation and Ordination; Romang, Justification by Faith (concluded); The Crux Interpretum, Gal. iii, 20; Hollenberg, Corrections to Theodore of Mopsuestia; Frank's History of Protestant Theology is reviewed by Tholuck, Reuter's Alexander III by Vogel, Keim's Historical Christ by Baxmann, etc.

The Vienna Academy of Sciences is about to publish new editions of the Latin Church Writers, with amended text. Sulpicius Severus has appeared, edited by C. Halm; Lactantius, Tertullian, Cyprian, etc., will follow. The typography is excellent, and the price moderate.

Zeitschrift f. d. wissenschaftliche Theologie. ERSTES HEFT, 1867. Tischendorf's little work on the Four Gospels has aroused the wrath of the extreme negative school of criticism, represented by this journal. Three of its articles are directed against him; one by Overbeck on Papias and his testimony; another by Lipsius on the Time of Marcion and Heracleon; and a third by Hilgenfeld. Holtzman contributes an essay on the Epistle to the Hebrews, discussing the theory of its being addressed to the Roman Church. Merz has some notes on Syriac fragments of Ignatius. Hilgenfeld, also, takes up the inquiry as to the origin of the Essenes, attributing this sect in part to Persian influence.

Theologische Quartalschrift. Forty-ninth year, 1867. ERSTES HEFT: Gams, The Old Spanish Canon Law, tracing it to its sources. Hefele, Leonardo da Vinci's picture of the Lord's Supper—a very interesting article. In a note at the end of the number, it is stated that Da Vinci, before he painted the Supper, drew eleven large cartoons of the heads of Christ and the apostles. These cartoons came to England, and afterward eight of them were purchased by the King of Holland, and after his death came into possession of his daughter, the Archduchess of Saxe-Weimar, by whose permission they have been copied and photographed by Bruckmann of Munich, in full size, and also in reduced copies. Mack, on Faith and Research, an exposition of Colossians, i, 13-20. Dr. Nolte, under the head *Miscellanea*, gives from a manuscript, a part of the text of the letter of the Fathers at the Council of Arles, to the Bishop (Sylvester) of Rome, where this text varies from that in Routh's *Reliquiae*; also some of the fragments of Papias in Greek (from MS.), which Routh has only in a Latin translation.

Zeitschrift f. d. Historische Theologie. 2s. HEFT, 1867: George Kapp, The Conversion of the Bohemians, from the sources, in continuation of an article on the Moravians, in the same journal, 1864: Köhler, Documents relating to the Hessian Reformation: Dr. Peter Megerli, a physician of Switzerland, by Linder: Pressel, new documents in respect to the Elector Palatine, Louis, and his part in the Formula Concordie.

Zeitschrift f. d. Lutherische Theologie. ERSTES HEFT, 1867. Eighteenth year. K. Buhl on Galat. iii, 15-29. J. Tietz on the expression in the Formula Concordie, “In spiritualibus rebuls homo est similis trunco et lapidi,” defending it against the misrepresentations of Möhler and others. Messerschmidt, on Justification in its Relations to Morality. Mehring, on the Lord's Supper. A. Von Harless, the Importance of the Lord's Supper, as meeting the Christian's Need of Salvation. The second part for 1867 contains, Sellin on 1 Cor. xv, 42-50: Isenberg, on 2 Cor. iii, 13: Preger, on Mediæval Mysticism: Uhden, on the Union in Prussia.

Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie. Rd. xli. Part I, 1867. P. KLEINERT. The Old Testament Doctrine of the Spirit of God. Weizsäcker, the Theology of Justin Martyr, an able exposition. Schultz, the Doctrinal Bearings of the New Testament View of a Double Resurrection.

The monograph of Zahn, of Göttingen, on Marcellus of Ancyra, is highly spoken of; it brings out fully the relations of theology to philosophy in the fourth century, representing Marcellus as the Biblical divine of his period. The work is published by Perthes, of Gotha. Professor Riggenbach, of Basle, has published an able work on the Testimonies to the Gospel of John, in reply to Volkmar and others.

The fifth volume of the new edition of Calvin, in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, contains a part of his minor tracts; several now given as his for the first time; the sixth volume will continue the series of tracts.

The biography of Stier, the author of the *Words of Jesus*, etc., has been published in two volumes by his two sons. Dr. Lehnerdt, General Superintendent of Saxony, died Dec. 16: he was Neander's successor at Berlin, preceding Niedmer. The 50th anniversary of Ranke's receiving the doctorate (at the age of 20) was celebrated in Berlin, the 20th of February. Dörner's *History of Protestant Theology* has been published; it is, of course, a very valuable work, though its notices of English and especially of American theology are scanty and imperfect.

There is a new sect in Germany called the "German Temple," which has been growing some few years, and is now said to number "some thousand souls," and to have instructed about 150 youths in its principles. Its great end is social reform, and to achieve this, it aims first of all at "collecting out of all the nations a people in Palestine, and erecting a temple at Jerusalem." On this great work they have already spent 4400 florins, but have been obliged, on account of a lack of funds, to withdraw the four pupils who have kept their post in Jerusalem.

Prof. Chr. Hermann Weisse, died Sept. 19. He was born in 1801, and has for many years taught philosophy in the University of Leipsic. He was in the main attached to the Hegelian school, though with protest against some of its positions. Among his works are *Æsthetics*, 2 vols., 1838; the *Gospel History*, 2 vols., 1838; *Luther's Christology*, 1855; *Philosophical Dogmatics*, 3 vols., 1855-1860.

A fifth edition of the admirable Apologetic Lectures of Dr. Luthardt, of Leipsic, has been published, revised and enlarged; the Edinburgh translation was made from the third edition. Dr. Luthardt will also publish, this summer, a similar course of lectures on the great Truths and Doctrines of Christianity. We hope that both of these works may be reproduced in this country.

There are 3,241 newspapers in the German language published in Europe, of which 747 are political.

FRANCE.

Bulletin Théologique, 1866. Paris. This publication edited by De Pressensé, is a supplement to the *Revue Chrétienne*, containing more strictly theological essays and discussions. It is published every two months. R. Hollard has been made joint editor for 1867. The vol. for 1866, pp. 376, contains, besides reviews of current works, carefully prepared articles on the following subjects: Mazel on Bruston's new French version of the Psalms; Coyne on the authenticity of Matthew, reviewing the testimony of Papias; Güder on the Resurrection of Christ, translated by M. Ruffet; Ch. Byse on Lutteroth's Taxation of Cyrenius; Philosophic Individualism, two able articles by Professor Astié of Lausanne; Eschenauer on Kahn's Principles of Protestantism; E. Arnaud, the Semitic Languages; Lalot on Schenkel's Life of Jesus; a translation of Dr. Schaff on the Moral Perfection of Christ; E. L. Savoureux on the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament; Th. Paul on Savorarola the Prophet, two articles.

Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne. 1867. Jan., Feb., March. LENORMANT, The Legend of Cadmus and the Phenician settlements in Greece, two articles. Ab-

bé Carré, a seventh letter against Abbé Fabre's Ontologism. Griveau, tenth article on the Condemnation of the *Maximes des Saints*, and the controversy between Bossuet and Fénelon. Bonnetty (the editor) on the Religion of the Romans and their Relation to Primitive Christianity, two articles, continued. Gabriel de Chaumes, a defense of the tradition that the gospel was preached in France in the first century, against the *Revue Contemporaine*. M. de Sauley's recent able work on the Last Days of Jerusalem, is reviewed by Bonnetty, who also contributes on account of the striking testimony of Galienus the Philosopher, about A. D. 160, to the virtues of the early Christians. M. Fort, The Descendants of Noah, and the countries they peopled, two articles. Bishop Avranzi, The New Direction to be given to Catholic Polemics.

M. Henri Holland, one of the most distinguished scientific men of France, died Dec. 27. He was the founder of the *Revue Chrétienne*, and bore a large part in the revival of evangelical religion in France. His labors in comparative anatomy (*Etudes de la Nature*, 1843), are universally recognized. In 1853, he defended the unity of the race in a treatise entitled *L'Homme*. He was also the founder of the religious journal, *Le Semeur*.

The *Revue Chrétienne*, JAN., contains a lecture by E. Naville, on the *Variations in Conscience*; the same able writer has been delivering at Geneva a course on General Philosophy, largely thronged. De Pressensé contributes to the review, an account of the Life and Services of Holland, and a Review of the Month; E. Robin has an essay on the Treatment of Released Convicts. FRÉ. Kuhn, on the Abbé Perreye, Prof. in Sorbonne; Vulliemin, on recently published Letters of the Early Reformers; Masson, Ritualism in England. АРН., De Pressensé, a "Conference," on the discussion between Celsus and Origen, on the relations of man to the animal; F. Lichtenberger, a "Moral Study on Göthe." A short notice of the character of the venerable pastor Juillerat, President of the Consistory of the Reformed Church of France, who, in 1815, served the cause of that church so nobly. There is also a very severe article against Prussia, as having violated the principles of right, in its late war.

M. Noel des Vergers, who died lately at Nice, (born 1805), published Abulfeda's Life of Mohammed, in 1837; History of Africa and Sicily under the Mussulman Dynasties, 1841; History of Arabia, 1841; and a History of Etruria and the Etruscans, which is held in the highest repute.

M. Cousin bequeathed to the Sorbonne his magnificent library, composed of fourteen thousand volumes, many of them rare editions and of great value. He requires that the library shall be left just as it is, in the very same place, so that readers may be received in the apartment which he inhabited for more than thirty years. He formally forbids any of his books being lent out of the premises. He endows the Sorbonne with an annual income of 10,000*fr.* viz., 10,000*fr.* for the librarian, 2,000*fr.* for the sub-librarian, one thousand francs for the reading-room clerk, and three thousand francs for keeping the books in repair. Lastly, he designates M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire as chief librarian; and leaves him all his papers, charging him expressly to write his (the testator's) biography. The posts of chief and sub-librarian are hereafter to be reserved for *agrégés* of the university. Having made all these dispositions, M. Cousin appoints as universal legatees, MM. Mignet, Barthélemy St. Hilaire and Frémyn, who will have at least 400,000*fr.* to share amongst them, after all deductions, and independent of a capital representing an annual income of 6,000*fr.*, bequeathed especially to M. Mignet.

M. Amédée Thierry has brought out a work entitled "St. Jérôme, la Société Chrétienne en Rome," presenting a picture of the Christian Church during the last days of the Roman Empire. M. Thierry regards St. Jerome from four different points of view, viz.: as a controversial writer, a divine, a Biblical critic, and a propagator of monkery in the western world. The second volume of the work contains a short history of the reign of the Empress Placidia.

J. M. Girardin has published a French translation of the treatise, "El Conocimiento de las Naciones," written by Antonio Perez during his imprisonment, and dedicated to King Philip III, of Spain, a document which is worthy of consideration both on account of the reputation of its author, and for the curious view it presents of the condition of European affairs towards the close of the 16th century. Besides this version, M. Girardin treats his readers to a bibliographical disquisition on the authenticity of the treatise, the original of which is given; and, in the shape of an appendix, an important consultation of Melchior Cano, the Dominican theologian, upon the relations between the Papal See and the Spanish church.

An entertaining and amusing work has just been published by M. Jal, entitled, "Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire." It carries out a plan conceived by Bayle, whose idea was to make a dictionary, the speciality of which should be the correction of historical blunders of all sorts. The perusal of such a book, says one of M. Jal's critics, is instructive, yet also very provoking, for it shows what a number of blunders people have credited on the testimony of grave men, and have helped to disseminate in their turn.

Among the larger theological works now in course of publication in France, are—the works of Cardinal Bonaventura, of which the 9th vol. is out, to be completed in 14 vols.; Reiffenstuel's *Jus Canonium*, edited by Pelletier, vol. 3d, three more vols. are to be issued; the *Acta Sanctorum*, which is rapidly pushed forward, to extend to some 56 volumes; a new French translation of Augustine's works, vol. 4th, to extend to 15 vols.; a new edition and a new translation of the Summa of Aquinas; a new translation of Chrysostom by Abbé Bareille, vol. 6, to be comprised in 26 vols.; Darras, *History of the Church*, vol. 8, to be 20 vols.; Friquet, *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 2d, not to "exceed" 25 vols.; *Martyrologium Unardi*, ed. Rigollot, fol. 2 cols., 60 francs. Didot has completed the publication of the Greek Thesaurus of Stephanus.

The 6th volume of H. Fauche's translation of the Mahabharata, from the Sanskrit, has just been published.

In France there are 78,584 priests, and 108,119 minor ecclesiastics, 86 archbishops, 3,517 curés and 189 vicars-general, belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Of this clerical army, only 35,000 are paid by Government, the remainder being supported by the church. The sum thus supplied amounts annually to 218,092,600*fr.*

SWITZERLAND.

The *Zeitstimmen*, published at Zürich, edited by Pastor Lang, is a violent advocate of the unbelieving and destructive tendencies of the age. Its editor teaches in the sense of Hegel, Baur, and Strauss; and contends that a minister can hold these views and yet remain in the pastoral office. He avows that the idea of personality is wholly inapplicable to God. Dr. Güder, of Berne, is one of the ablest opponents of this school, and of course, violently assailed. Herr Langhaus, professor in the Teachers' Institute at Munchenbuchsee, canton of Berne, has been lately reelected to his post, though the cantonal Synod of Berne protested against it on account of his open advocacy of these unchristian speculations. A new preacher at Berne, Scartuzzini, is a professed adherent of Baur, denying miracles, the resurrection of Christ, the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. Prof. Immer, though by no means strictly orthodox, has been severely attacked because he has protested against the irruption of this infidelity into the church.

To counteract the influence of the *Zeitstimmen* and the *Reformblätter*, in German Switzerland, a new periodical has been started at Basle, the *Kirchenfreund*, to be edited by Prof. Riggenbach of Basle, Dr. Güder of Berne, and Pastor Jost Heer, of the canton of Zürich. It stands on the evangelical basis of the Reformed Churches.

There are published in Switzerland 360 newspapers, of which 239 are in German, 106 in French, 12 in Italian, 2 in Rumanian, and 1 in Polish.

Prof. Godet of Lausanne, whose able work on John we noticed last year, has resigned his position as pastor, to devote himself wholly to his work as Professor in the Theological School of the canton. He is preparing a commentary on Luke. The introductory matter of his work on John has been translated into German, and is praised in German periodicals.

A Bible for the blind has been completed at Lausanne in 32 vols.; cost 152 francs; it is sold to the needy for 12 francs. Six years have been spent in its preparation.

Dr. L. Segond has published at Lausanne a new French version of the prophecy of Isaiah, with notes; it is said to be much superior to the current translations. Dr. Segond was appointed by the Preachers' Society of Geneva to make a translation of the Old Testament.

HOLLAND.

Dr. Van Osterzee of Utrecht, whose commentary on Luke forms one of the more valuable parts of Lange's Bible-Work, has published a series of lectures on the Gospel of John defending it against recent criticisms. J. J. Doedes has brought out a work on the Heidelberg Catechism in its earlier history, 1563 to 1567. The second part of Van Heusden's Handbook on the Statistics of the Netherlands has appeared. (pp. 273-654.)

RUSSIA

The Moscow Gazette replies to the Papal Allocution about the unjust treatment of Roman Catholics in Russia; of the 15 Roman Catholic bishoprics in Russia, 10 are occupied; the whole number of Roman Catholics in the Empire is 2,800,000, giving now 280,000 to each bishop; while of Greek bishops there are 64 to 56,000,000 orthodox Greek Christians, or one to 875,000: that, in the same proportion, there should be only 3 Roman Catholic bishops instead of 10; that the Catholic pastors are all paid by the State, while of the 60,000 Greek pastors, only 17,535 are thus paid; that in one diocese, Saratow, the Catholic bishop has 100,000 souls, and is paid 5,000 rubles, while the Greek has 1,500,000 souls, and receives only 743 rubles, etc. Russia has abrogated the concordat with Rome, made in 1847.

Among the Russian professors who teach the Hegelian philosophy are Snellman in Helsingfors, Boulitsch in Casan, Pauloff in Kieff, Gogozki in Kieff. The latter has published a dictionary of the *Philosophical Sciences*. Some of the Russian works on philosophy produced within the last few years are, a logic by Karpoff, psychology by Kikozze, Novicki on the development of philosophical and religious ideas among the ancients, also a system of logic by Koropzoff. Professor Jurkiewitsch reads public lectures on philosophy at Moscow. The chairs of philosophy in the Russian universities were suppressed by the Emperor Nicholas, but they are now reinstated. Snelling, professor of philosophy at Helsingfors, has been made a member of the Finland senate.

Regulations have been issued by the Russian government for the introduction of a new system of public instruction in the kingdom of Poland. The language used in the different schools as medium of instruction will be that of the majority of the inhabitants of the district, whether Polish, Russian, German or Lithuanian. Spiritual instruction will be imparted by the secular clergy of the religious persuasions, and the Polish language, as well as the history of Poland, together with the Russian language and history, will be taught in all the schools of the kingdom.

The Lutheran Church in Russia is presided over by a consistory of 12 members, at St. Petersburg, Baron Von Meyndorff, President. There are 8 subordinate consistories. The whole number of Lutheran Churches in Russia is 431, with 566 clergy.

A translation of *Selections from the Sermons* of Archbishop PHILARETUS has been made into French by A. Serpinet, in three volumes, from the second Russian edition.

The Warsaw High School is to be transformed into a thorough Panslavistic

University, where all the Slavonic languages—the Russian, Blish, Czech, Serbian and Croatian are to be represented, and it will be made the chief seat and centre of Slavonic learning. The language used in the lectures will be Russian, but this feature will be gradually introduced.

The Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, says Dr. Wright (*Journal of Sac. Lit.* Jan., 1867, p. 461), possesses four Syriac MSS. purchased in 1852, of the greatest value; three belong to the 7th century and one to the 5th. One is the two Books of Samuel in the Peschito version; another, St. Paul's Epistles, in part, also in the Peschito; a third contains a variety of fragments on church history; the 4th bearing date A. D. 462, is the chief one, a copy of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, bks. i-iv and viii-x; with parts of v and vii. The British Museum MS. has only books i-iv. Mr. Wright, by permission of the Director of the Library, M. Delianoff, has the loan of this "precious volume" for publication. The date is about 120 years after the death of Eusebius.

GREECE.

Naville's work, *Eternal Life*, has been translated into Greek by Kephala, and published at Odessa. In Alexandria, a teacher, Argyropylos, has published a system of Ethics in Greek; and a physician, Oikonopylos, has published a religious work, entitled *The Guide Through Life*. The Greek poet, Panagiotis, has published, in reply to Renan, a novel called *Kavtime, or the Excellence of the Christian Religion*, which is said to be written with talent. A Society of *Friends of Culture* has been in existence in Athens for thirty years, which has for its object to elevate the moral and religious condition of the people. *Neue Evang. Kirchenzeitung*.

SPAIN.

According to the latest statistical reports in a population of 15,658,586, there are 11,828,523, who can neither read nor write; that is about 75 in 100. It is also said that out of 72,157 municipal councillors, 12,479 can neither read nor write, 422 being mayors and 938 deputy mayors.

The clergy of the cathedral churches of Spain consist of 53 prelates, and one coadjutor bishop, 52 deans, 431 titular canons, and 756 prebendaries, the salaries of whom amount annually to 24,404,250 reaux. The parochial clergy is composed of 19,311 curés, 156 perpetual vicars, 986 officiating vicars, and 3,904 coadjutors, at a yearly cost of 79 million reaux. The religious houses endowed by the state number 4,726, and the payments to them, added to those of 791 almoners and 799 priests, amount to 8,401,240 reaux.

ITALY.

Among the discoveries of the Chevalier de Rossi in the Catacombs, is an inscription found at Pompeii, showing the public existence of Christianity thirteen years after the death of St. Peter. It is claimed to be the most ancient Pagan testimony to the history of the church. De Rossi gave an account of it in the *Bulletino d'Archeologia Cristiana* Sept., 1864, which is translated by Bonnetty in the *Annales de Philosophie Chretienne*, Aug., 1866, accompanied by a fac-simile of the inscription (p. 40), which, however, has vanished since its exposure to the air. It was first seen by Fiorelli in 1862. The words AUDI CHRISTIANOS were unmistakable; following these were two other words, more doubtful, but which probably were SITVOS (SÆVOS?) SOBORES. The whole, it is conjectured, may mean: "Listen to the Christians, the Swans with severe songs." Another inscription reads: MENDAX VERACI UBIQUE SALUTEM, i. e., "I, a liar to the Truth, greeting"—said in irony by a Pagan to a Christian. But whatever may be the meaning of these inscriptions, it seems to be shown that there were Christians at Pompeii A. D. 79, and that they had a synagogue or house of prayer, where there was preaching and the singing of grave (sævos) songs.

Libraries in Italy.—The total number is 210; of which 164 are open to the public—40 not so. These 210 libraries contain 4,149,287 volumes. Emilia possesses more than a quarter of these. Lombardy is the next richest province, hav-

ing 800,000. Tuscany comes next with 600,000. The Abruzzi and Basilicata are the poorest. The total means possessed by all these libraries amounts to 746,317 francs, of which sum 87,770 francs are derived from endowments belonging to the institutions; 486,986 francs represent government grants; 94,404 communal grants, and 8,233 provincial grants.

Great Britain has 1,771,493 volumes in its public and large private libraries, or 6 to every 100 persons in its population; Italy has 4,149,287, or 10½ to every 100 persons; France has 4,389,000, or 11.7 to each 100 persons; Austria 2,408,000, or 6.9 per cent.; Prussia 2,040,450, or 11 per cent.; Russia 582,090, or 1½ per cent.; Bavaria 1,268,500, or 26½ per cent., and Belgium 509,100, or 10½ per cent. It is clear, therefore, that Italy, which is a very ignorant country, has public libraries far beyond its proportional education, and also probably Bavaria, while Prussia, which is the most educated of all, occupies in this list only a middle position.

Out of the 21,777,334 Italians, 16,999,701 do not know their letters, while the remainder, 893,388 can barely read; thus the number of more or less educated individuals is reduced to 2,260,605 males, and 1,109,640 females! In 1863 there were but 29,422 schools, either public or private, frequented by 1,109,224 scholars, and 255 gymnasias. Two hundred and nine communes do not possess a single school, either public or private. In 1859, the government of Italy, including Austria, spent annually but eight million francs for popular education. In 1863 this item figures in the budget of the kingdom of Italy alone for fifteen millions, the sum expended for the same purpose in the single State of New York!

The Gazzetta di Firenze gives the following as the net revenues of the church in Italy: Religious corporations about to be abolished, 11,035,575 lire; mendicant religious corporations, 298,221; sisters of mercy, 163,777; bishops' salaries, 5,555,394; seminaries, 3,225,011; chapters and prebends, 8,558,780; and various other sources of revenue, amounting in all to 75,841,439 lire.

Professor Ferrazzi has published the third volume of his "Enciclopædia Dantesca," a valuable work, to be completed in four volumes. The matter embraced in it involves every species of knowledge relating to Dante and his times, biographic, historic, critical and philologic, in the shape of indices, extracts, commentaries, disquisitions, essays, etc. The bibliographic section includes copious lists and notices of foreign translations of Dante, and works concerning him and his writings, as well as the various Italian editions and works of the same character. It also contains interesting notices of Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April. 1. The Divine and Human Natures in Christ; the excellent *Concio ad Clerum* of Dr. E. A. Lawrence, reprinted from the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. 2. The Literal Theology. 3. J. S. Mill's Theory of Mind, by Rev. H. Calderwood, D.D., of Glasgow, an acute criticism. 4. Renan's Apostles. 5. The Organized Structure of the New Testament, on the basis of Bernard's Bampton Lectures. 6. Trials of Irving and Campbell of Row. 7. Cyclopædia Literature. 8. Interpretation of the Psalms. 9. The Antiquity of Man.

In the January number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, it was announced that that valuable periodical, the only one of its kind in England, must be discontinued; but we are glad to see by the April part, that this is not to be the case. The editor, B. Harris Cowper, said that he had sunk all his purchase money, and edited it for nothing, and yet was running into debt for it. But new arrangements seem to have been made for its continuance. The January number completed the 10th vol. of the new (fourth) series, and contained, C. A. Row, on the Historical Character of the Gospels; Karen Traditions and Opinions, a very curious summary; "The Coming One;" Difficult Passages of Job; Hymns of the Abyssinian Church; Remarks on the "Eirenicon;" Candlemas Day, A Mystery, reprinted; Two Epistles of Mar Jacob, in Syriac, etc.

The number for April begins a new series. It has articles on the Church and the Working Men; Rites and Ceremonies; The Eternity of Future Punishments, a concise outline, by Rev. C. H. Robertson; The Tripartite Nature of Man; Mr. Hinton's Metaphysical Views, defending him against the charge of pantheism; The Breton Bible, by Dr. Tregelles, a very interesting sketch of Le Gonidec's Breton version, just reissued in 2 vols.; Ritualism, by Dr. Kirkus; Plea for a Revised Translation of the Scriptures; Comte's Pantheism, by J. W. Jackson; The State of Parties in the Church of England, by C. A. Row; a revised translation of the first eight chapters of Job, by J. M. Rodwell; Celestine's Liturgy in Syriac, edited by W. Wright, etc.

Dr. Gerald Molly, Prof. of Theology at Maynooth, has published a review of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, in which he says that there can be "no compromise whatever" between the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic.

Dr. Edward Hincks, rector of Killeleagh, the most learned man in the Irish church, died Dec. 3, at the age of 75. His chief researches were in the deciphering of Egyptian and cuneiform inscriptions; his system of the latter is recognized by Rawlinson and Grotefend as the best. In 1829, he wrote ably in the Roman Catholic controversy.

William De Burgh, D.D., late rector of Ardboe, died 15th Oct., 1866. He is the author of the *Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance*, 2 vols.; an *Exposition of the Revelation*, 5th ed.; *Commentary on the Psalms*, 2 vols.; the *Second Advent*, 3d ed.; *Early Prophecies of a Redeemer*, etc.

The Christian Remembrancer, Jan. Mediæval Latin Poetry; Works of Edward Irving; The Holy Roman Empire; The Church and the World; The Papal Temporalities, Dr. Newman; The York Congress and the Church in 1866.

The Dublin Review, Jan. Richard Whately; Relation of St. Paul with St. Peter; Mediæval Manichæism and the Inquisition; Dr. Pusey on Ecclesiastical Unity; Joan of Arc and her Mission; English Ritualism; Dr. McCosh's *Intuitions of the Mind*; The State of Affairs.

The Duke of Argyll has written a work on *The Reign of Law*, in which he discusses the question between Supernaturalism and Naturalism in an able way. He distinguishes the following usages of the word law: 1. An observed order of facts. 2. An order of facts employing the action of unknown force or forces. 3. Forces whose range is ascertained. 4. Combination of forces with a purpose or end. 5. An abstract conception, thought, or idea, whereby the mind assumes hypothetically, a plan that would account for an observed order of facts, so that they may be brought into a harmonious order.

In 1866 there were published 4,204 new books in England, of which 849 were religious, 194 biographical and historical, 161 philological, etc.

Nichol's series of *Standard Divines of the Puritan Period*, now comprises 30 vols.; including the works of Goodwin, 12 vols.; Sibbes, 7 vols.; Charnock, 5 vols.; Clarkson, 3 vols.; Adams and Ward, 3 vols. The Sermons and Treatises of the "silver-tongued," Henry Smith, though recently republished in London, are to be issued in the second section; also, the works of Thos. Brookes, 6 vols., of George Swinnoek, 5 vols., of Richard Gilpin and John Goodwin. All of these can be procured in this country at two dollars the volume. Nichol has also republished seven volumes of Commentaries, by Airy, Cartwright, Rainolds, Marbury, Gouge, and others, at \$3 the volume.

The second edition of Dr. Lightfoot's *Epistle to the Galatians* is out; his *Epistle to the Philippians* is announced. There are also new editions of Westcott's history of the Canon of the New Testament, and of his *Introduction to the Study of the Four Gospels*.

The late Dr. Neale left a translation of the *Stabat Mater Speciosa*, which has been published: it is probably an early poem of Giacomo da Todi, the author of the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*—one of the great triad of Franciscan poets, the other two being St. Francis himself, and Thomas of Salerno, the author of the *Dies Irae*.

The British Museum has procured a valuable accession to its Hebrew MSS. in

the Almanzi Collection, consisting of 322 vols., of which 50 or 60 are on vellum. Almanzi was a Hebrew merchant of Padua, who died in 1860.

Ecce Homo.—It appears that there was a book with this title published as long ago as 1813, viz.; "Ecce Homo, or a Critical Inquiry into the History of Jesus Christ, being a rational analysis of the Gospels;" second edition, London, 1813. It was written by a Mr. Houston, and for it the author was put into Newgate and fined £200.

Mr. B. Harris Cowper, editor of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, has published a translation of all the early Apocryphal Gospels, the first complete English version, to be followed by the Apocryphal Acts, Epistles and Revelations.

John Henry Blunt, *A Christian View of Christian History*, 7s. Ed. M. Goulburn, *The Acts of the Deacons*. Chr. Wordsworth, *The Books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, etc.* John Henry Blunt, *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, 2 parts; said to be the most complete work on the subject. The third volume of Robertson's *Church History*, is from A. D. 1122 to 1303.

Aristotle on Fallacies, by Edward Poste, with Translation and Notes, 8s. 6d. Thos. Fowler, *The Elements of Deductive Logic*, 3s. M. P. W. Bolton, *Inquisitio Philosophica*, an attack on Mansel's Philosophy of the Conditioned.

G. Warrington, *The Inspiration of Scripture, its Limits and Effects*. Rev. W. Houghton, *Pauline Theology, an Essay*. Rev. John Stoughton, *Ecclesiastical History, from the Opening of the Long Parliament to the Death of Cromwell*, 2 vols.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

S. S. Schmucker, D. D. of Gettysburg, is about to publish a new work *The Church of the Redeemer*, with special reference to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, but also comprising a sketch of the history of the Church from the Apostolic age. It is to be published by subscription for \$1.00, bound. Dr. Abel Stevens has nearly ready a new volume of his able history of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country. Rev. Albert Barnes has completed a commentary on the Psalms, which will soon be published in England and this country.

The first number of a *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* has appeared at St. Louis. It contains articles on Spencer, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, etc.

Dr. Stowe has delivered, at Hartford, a course of lectures on *The Origin and History of the Books of the Bible*, which will soon be published.

The Rev. Dr. Goodell, late missionary at Constantinople, died in Philadelphia, Feb. 18. He was one of the most useful and honored of our foreign missionaries. He translated the Scriptures into the Armeno-Turkish; the Old Testament was completed in 1841, and the New Testament in 1843.

The lectures of Rev. Albert Barnes before the Union Theological Seminary, on the Evidences of the Truth of Christianity in the nineteenth century, will soon be published by the Harpers. The same publishers have in press, the fifth and last volume of Gieseler's Church History, translated and brought down to the present times, by Prof. H. B. Smith.

Notices of the following named books are necessarily laid over:

History of the Civil War in America. By J. W. Draper, LL. D.

The Culture demanded by Modern Life. Edited by E. L. Youmans.

The Last Chronicle of Barset. By Anthony Trollope. Harper & Bros.

Ide, Bible Pictures. Gould and Lincoln.

Froude's History of England. Vols. IX, X. Scribner.

Prof. Hoppin's Old England. Hurd & Houghton.

Mitchell's Rural Studies.

Ross Browne's Land of Thor.

Homespun, by Thomas Lackland.

James, Bankrupt Law.

Gibbons, Public Debt of U. S.

Annals of Scientific Discovery.

Publications of the American Tract Society, and the Presbyterian Committee.

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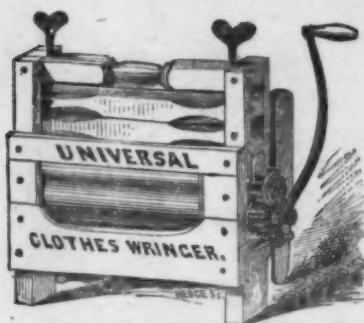
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